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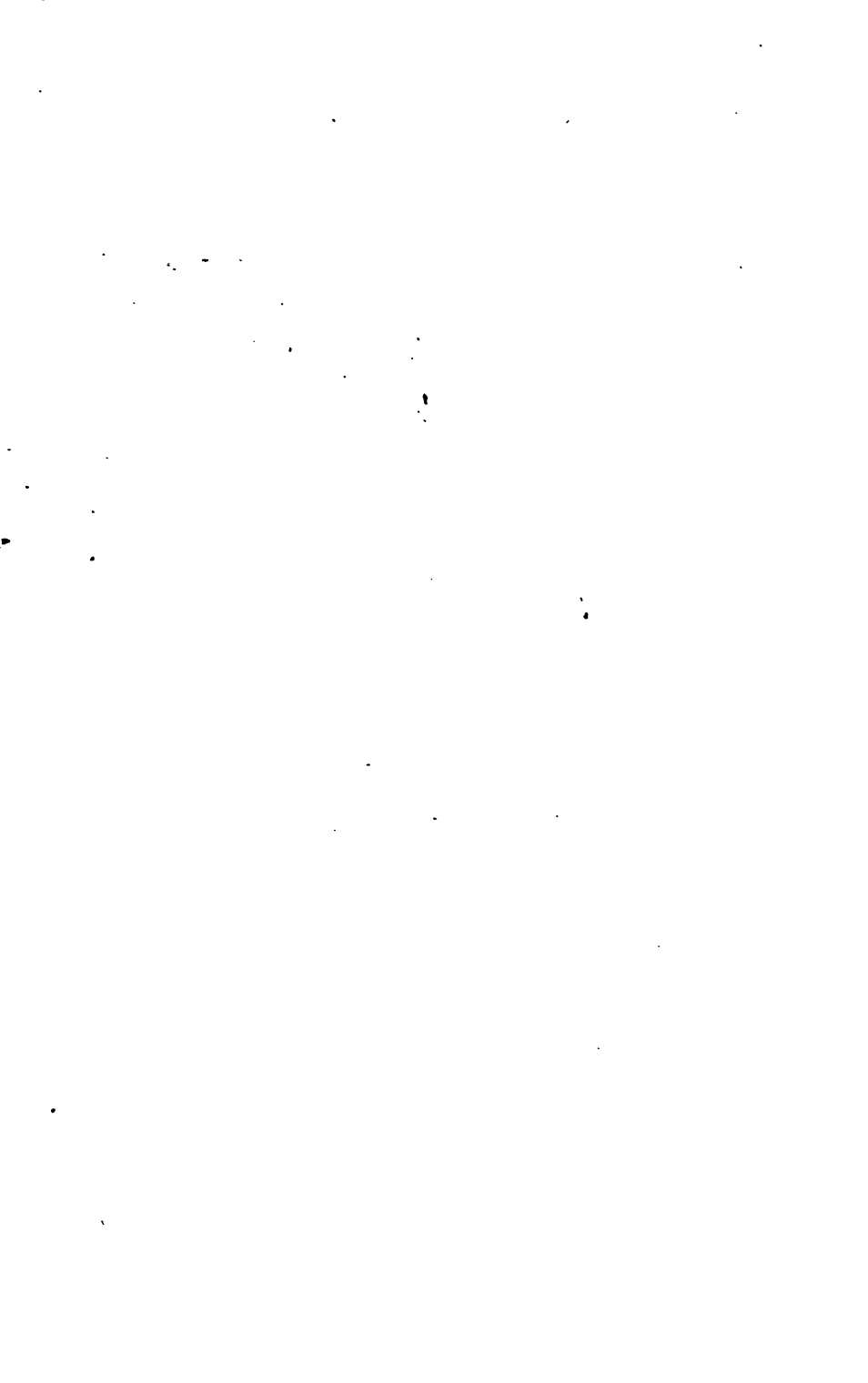
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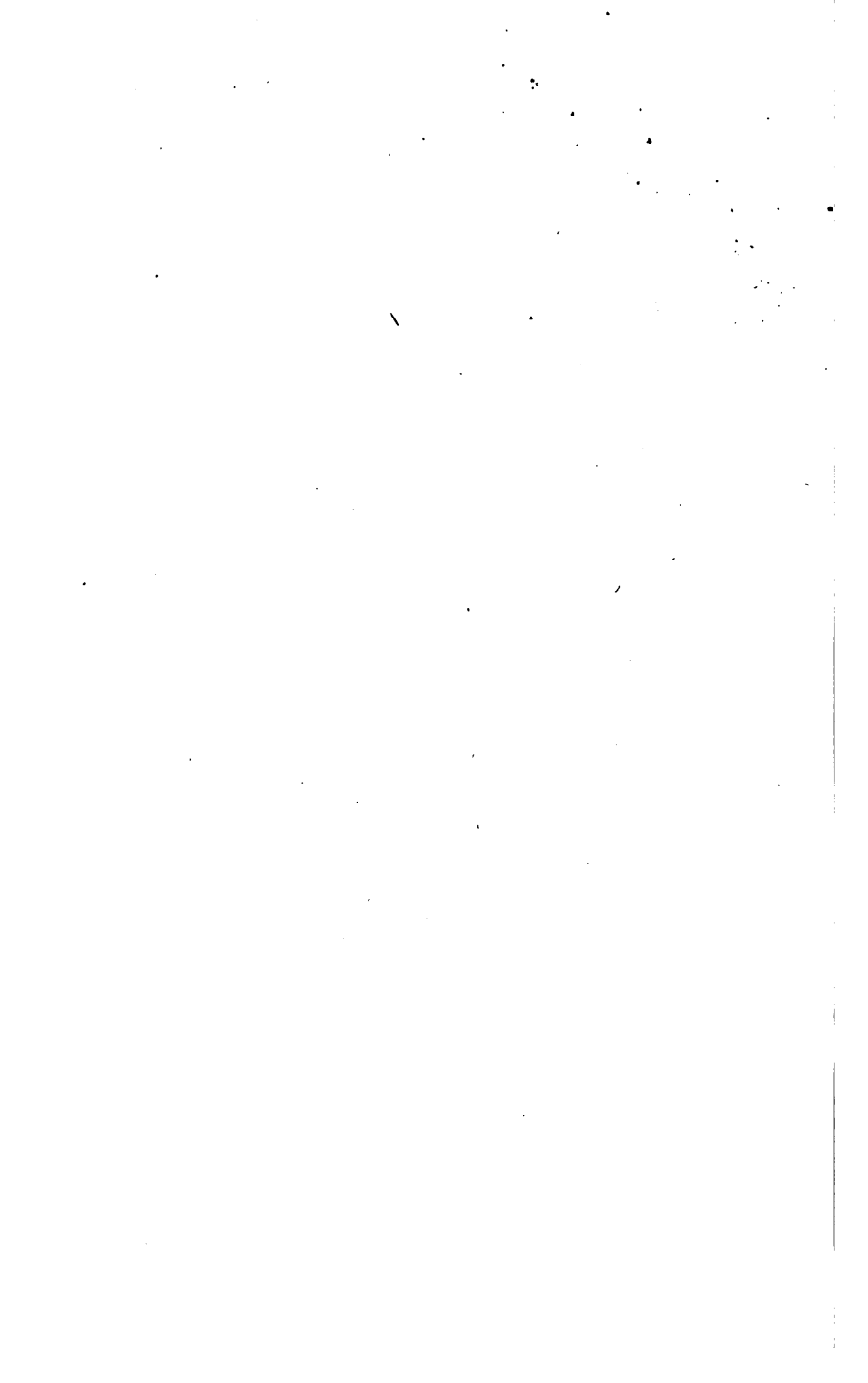


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~~FROM~~

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John  
DR LEE'S

# REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES

BROUGHT AGAINST HIM BY THE

REV. DR CHALMERS AND OTHERS,

IN REFERENCE TO THE QUESTIONS ON

CHURCH EXTENSION AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

## PART I.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING THE

EVIDENCE OF DR LEE

BEFORE THE

COMMISSIONERS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS, EDINBURGH.

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## REFUTATION.

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IN answer to the many violent attacks which have been made upon me during the last five months, I now bring before the public a plain narrative of facts, differing materially from some of the representations which have been widely and industriously spread abroad. As I begin to write within forty days of the opening of the next General Assembly, what I have now to state can have no influence on the choice of members; and if it were not for the sake of distant friends, who have no immediate access to the best sources of information, I would not think it necessary to take notice of the charges which have been brought against me in a form and manner altogether unparalleled. If I have offended, there are well known ways in which I might have been brought to a sense of my error, or, in the event of proving irreclaimable by private admonition, compelled to submit to the judgment of the Church Courts. Thus the world might have been relieved from the unseemly spectacle of hot contention raging both within and without the walls which ought to be the habitation of unity and peace.

Though I have been not only accused but condemned by many who have not thought fit to suspend their judgment till they saw if any defence would be offered, I shall endeavour to restrain myself from the utterance of the sensations which such

treatment has irresistibly awakened; but I cannot conceal my astonishment at the over-acted vehemence of some of my assailants, which could scarcely have been greater if they had discovered me to be in league with the impious incendiaries described by the prophetic pen of Asaph, as going forth with axes and hammers to break down sanctuaries, to burn up synagogues, and to convert the bulwarks of Zion into perpetual desolations. Nay, some of these professed champions of truth, self-summoned to a participation in strife not belonging to them, have not scrupled to speak as if a necessity had been laid on them to emulate, not the meekness of Moses (which was assuredly a gracious influence and not his innate temperament), but the enthusiastic ire under the sudden impulse of which he slew an Egyptian oppressor and hid him in the sand,—a deed of violence which, whether divinely authorized or no, has not been expressly commended to the imitation of lesser prophets, any more than some of his subsequent acts, which were undoubtedly prompted by human passion and not by any heavenly vision. Better were it for the uninspired smiters, who glory in Moses as their pattern, if they would reflect that the meekness of wisdom might be less equivocally exemplified by expostulating with them that strive, as he did when he said, “Sirs, ye are brethren,” and that it might be prudent to remember this other inspired counsel, “Where no wood is there the fire goeth out, so where there is no tale-bearer, the strife ceaseth.” If there had been no tale-bearer, the strife might not have begun.

It would be an irksome task to trace the origin of the unprofitable dissension which has arisen on a subject generally thought so trivial as the nomination of a Moderator of the General Assembly. Worthy as have been the individuals on whom the choice has for the most part fallen, so few of them have been signalized by any extraordinary qualifications, that there could be no great presumption in any minister of average attainments, who listened to a proposal to confer on him that transitory distinction. It has been said by Dr



Chalmers in a late pamphlet, and in a previous letter published in the newspapers, that for more than half a century the old Moderators have exercised the privilege of nominating or recommending to the Church. If this were true, Dr Chalmers himself did certainly, one year at least, support a candidate who, though highly deserving, was not the nominee of the old Moderators.\* But, in point of fact, the nomination by the Old Moderators was first assumed, not fifty years ago, but about fifteen years ago, subsequently to the contest between the supporters of Dr Cook and those of Dr Lamont in 1822; and it is certainly within the last five years that the system of alternation has been introduced. With these matters I have never troubled myself; for since I have been one of the Clerks of the Church, the duties have been so much more laborious than formerly, that my time during every Assembly has been always so much engrossed as to allow me few opportunities of intercourse even with my oldest friends; and thus nobody could hear less of what was going on than I have done.

Nearly two years ago, about the time of the Assembly 1835, Dr Gordon took occasion to introduce a conversation with me, in the course of which he stated very strongly that he, in common with many others, felt a wish that the distinction of filling the Moderator's chair should be conferred on me the following year. Within a few days of the same period, Dr Welsh, with equal warmth of friendly regard, expressed himself in similar terms, stating that he spoke the sentiments of numbers, some of whom he named, and among the rest Dr Chalmers, who, he said, had authorized him to convey a message to me, assuring me of his hearty concur-

\* On the occasion referred to, Dr Mearns had been put in nomination in the usual way, and the opposition to him seemed to have been organized only a day or two before his expected election. Besides his other acknowledged merits, his work on Christian Evidence, which controverts some of the positions in a well known work of Dr Chalmers, had attracted the favourable notice of many eminent divines. Dr Chalmers supported Dr Cook, and expressed strong dissatisfaction with the initiative then in use.

rence. This particular is impressed on my recollection, because, as observed, I had thought it possible that Dr Chalmers might be somewhat disobliged by a difference of opinion which I had expressed in a late correspondence, the particulars of which I began to mention, when Dr Welsh replied that he knew about that from Dr Chalmers. To my surprise, both Dr Gordon and Dr Welsh appeared to think it possible that I might conceive that I had been already overlooked. I assured them that such an idea had never crossed my mind; and that, so far was I from being impatient for that honour, that it would be no disappointment to me if it were never offered. I did not, however, affect to undervalue such a compliment, if it were to be paid with the general good-will of my Brethren. Not long afterwards, Dr Dickson made a declaration of the same tenor with the others to which I have adverted; and I could not but be gratified by this mark of regard from one of my oldest friends in the Presbytery. No person can say with truth that I ever for a single moment manifested a desire to be proposed as a candidate, or that, even after this unexpected proffer of support, I ever spontaneously entered on the subject. At the same time, I admit that it did occur to me that the friends whose partiality was thus indicated, must have seriously intended to employ the usual means of securing the accomplishment of their purpose, and that they would not consider it to be honourable to abandon their declared purpose without assigning a sufficient reason. Of Dr Gordon I can at least say that, to this instant, he has never signified to me that he has altered his mind. Of Dr Welsh, I can also say that, though he may have sworn to his own hurt, he has not changed. And assuredly Dr Dickson has not drawn back.

Certain it is that I used no means, and that I really thought very little of the matter. If I had been told, that either through personal preference for another, or from party feelings, my nomination was likely to be opposed, I would not have consented that the quiet of the Church should be disturbed for a single hour. In November 1835, a

paragraph appeared in some newspapers, announcing that I was to be proposed for the chair of the next Assembly. Soon afterwards, I learned that Dr Chalmers had written letters in which he had expressed his wishes in favour of Dr Macleod, in terms which were considered to imply a reflection on me. I made some inquiry into this matter, and was told that Dr Chalmers had made no mention of me whatever, and that it was not necessary for me to take any notice of a report, the origin of which I did not think it worth while to trace. I was afterwards told, that he had taken offence at an expression which I had made use of in the Commission of the Assembly, on the 18th of November 1835, when a claim was set up for two members of the Presbytery of Auchterarder, who were not members of the Commission, to be heard in a reference from that Presbytery. The precedent of Dr Chalmers having addressed the Commission in September, though not a member, was pleaded in support of this claim. I was reported in the newspapers to have said, that this was not a parallel proceeding, for Dr Chalmers had spoken in the capacity of convener of a deputation or committee of the last Assembly; but, even in that case, a great deal of his speech had been occupied with what did not come within the range of their business, and, if it had not been for the peculiar circumstances, would not have been listened to for a moment. An extraordinary case like that could not warrant a departure from the rules on which the Assembly had invariably acted with regard to references. I was assured that this remark of mine had provoked Dr Chalmers to speak of me with extreme violence, and my understanding certainly was, that this was the period at which his hostilities against me commenced. If I was wrong in ascribing his conduct to resentment, I was not singular in my opinion. But I lost no time in signifying to the friends who remained steadily attached to me, that I did not wish them to take any additional steps, and I am sure none of them ever had reason to think that I blamed them for inactivity. In May 1836,

Dr Macgill stated to me, that he was to attend a meeting of the Old Moderators, and asked if I would have any objection to be proposed for the following year. I could not do less than express my obligations for his favourable opinion, and as he signified his intention of making such a motion, I gave my consent. After the meeting was over, Dr Baird spoke to me, and another Ex-Moderator spoke to one of my friends, in terms which implied that I was to be proposed. Though I did not promulgate these communications, they certainly became the subject of conversation ; and, when the matter was occasionally mentioned to me, I could not affect to say that I knew nothing of the grounds of the report. Before the end of August, I heard that Dr Chalmers had written letters recommending Dr Gardiner of Bothwell, and by implication at least disapproving of me ; but of the terms of the letters, I had not a distinct account. I also learned that there had been another meeting of Old Moderators, and that these letters were represented to be the result of their deliberations ; but, though I wrote to one of the Old Moderators, expressing my surprise that, after what he had said before, he had omitted to inform me of the change of purpose ; he did not think fit to take any notice of this letter till I wrote to him again about the end of December, begging him to tell me if he concurred in the terms of a circular, of which I had for the first time received a copy a few days before. I forbear to publish at present any part of the correspondence which ensued ; but I subjoin a copy of the circular to which I refer, the substance of which, I afterwards learned, had been known to my friends before they held a meeting on the 5th of December last, when they published a set of resolutions which have since been represented by Dr Chalmers as an act of aggression. The circular is in these words :—

BURNTISLAND,

*Aug. 29. 1837.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

At a recent meeting of the Old Moderators in Edin-

burgh, it was unanimously resolved, that they should recommend to their brethren throughout the Church, as Moderator of the next General Assembly, Dr Gardiner of Bothwell, a most respectable country minister, of a country Presbytery, and selected on the special ground that he was thoroughly to be depended on for the soundness of his views on all those questions which are now pending between the Church and the Government. There cannot be imagined a greater mischief to befall us at the present juncture than to have a Moderator not possessed of the right zeal or the right intelligence on these questions, and more especially if cold or disaffected either to the extension of the Church or to a right University system for the education of its Ministers.

I shall be most happy to understand that these views of the Old Moderators meet with the acquiescence of your co-Presbyters, &c.

(Signed)      THOMAS CHALMERS."

On making further inquiry, I ascertained that similar letters had been received in various quarters, and that the allegations implied in them were universally understood to be levelled at me. I need not now state that it has been admitted that they were levelled at me; and though the writer has since declared that he says nothing of my moral disqualification, he cannot, and he does not deny, that he considers these as charges which very deeply affect my ministerial character. As it cannot therefore be disputed, that the special grounds assigned for excluding me, involve a question of character, I could not shrink from the inquiry which was thus forced upon the attention of the Church, unless I chose to acknowledge that the implied accusations were well founded. And I at once resolved to abide the event, giving my adversaries the opportunity of saying and doing their worst.

Whether they have yet done and said their worst, or not, I cannot tell; but they have heaped up many words against me, which I have been unable to reconcile with the law of

truth or the law of kindness. Accusations have been circulated far and wide in newspapers and pamphlets, transmitted not only to the utmost bounds of this Church, but to England, Ireland, and distant colonies. Thus, prejudices have been excited in numerous quarters, where I may never find the means of removing them. Journals, conducted under the auspices of ministers and elders of this Church, have, in opposition to what I have always understood to be the spirit of our law, industriously published and spread charges against a minister of the Gospel without first acquainting himself, and without giving him an opportunity of knowing what they chose thus to circulate. Of most of these attacks I have heard only by incidental report, but probably the promoters of this disorderly form of libelling may yet see cause to regret that they ever gave it countenance. Other ministers and elders have gone about to gather up fragments of evidence, on which some of themselves may afterwards sit in judgment. Ultraneous testimonies have been borne by men, who, blowing the trumpet before them, have told (in language not so dispassionate as is generally thought becoming in an impartial witness,) how after they had gone forth, two and two, to visit the families of the poor, another was found travelling in the error of his ways, with the evil intent of withholding from the poor the fulfilment of their just desires, and hindering the success of a cause, by the postponement of which, innumerable souls must be lost. More indignant terms could scarcely have been employed, if it had been demonstrated that I was following the unhallowed footsteps of the soothsayer of Pethor, who, at the bidding of the King of Moab, arose from his place to curse Jacob and defy Israel, but was rebuked for his iniquity, when the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet. I have not the means of purging these witnesses of malice and partial counsel, nor can I put their credibility to the test by demanding of them how they traced those goings which they say were so

mis-directed; and how it is, that in a case which so much surprised and distressed them, that they could not forbear "making frequent mention of it to others," they could forbear mentioning it to me, with whom, since that time, some of them have had repeated and long interviews; and how their recollections, refreshed as they have been by frequent converse, have become so imperfect and indistinct, that they can condescend neither on dates nor express words, but require by mutual comparing of vague impressions, to eke out a joint deposition which not one of them has coherently delivered, after all the appliances and means to which they have resorted for the purpose of jogging a drowsy memory -- means which would not have been allowed to escape the animadversion of any impartial tribunal. But of such volunteer partisans who have a passion for extrajudicial witness-bearing, I would not take notice, if it were not manifest that such men as these have been the armourers who accomplished, for a more ferocious onset, an assailant, whose discrimination of human character has not always proved infallible; and who, if he has not invoked the aid of mere eaves-droppers, prowlers about printing-offices, gleaners of proof-sheets, and other busy-bodies and whisperers, has at least thought fit to suppress the names of his auxiliaries and pioneers. I know not from what quiver were supplied those arrows of detraction which have been launched from periodical presses in London and elsewhere; and which, dipped as they have been in falsehood, disgraced only the hands by which they were pointed and aimed, but I pity the hearts which can feel even momentary complacency in meditating or witnessing the butchery of human character. It is possible that men may fancy that they are clad with zeal as a cloak, while they have forgotten to put on the charity which rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth. They may deceive themselves so far as to think that they are clothed with humility, while they are sitting in the seat of the scorner, who clothes himself with

cursing as with a garment. They may flatter themselves that they know what manner of spirit they are of, while they will not admit that those whom they hate have begun to understand their errors. They may be satisfied that they have taken the beam out of their own eyes before they set themselves to the task of prying into other hearts, and pronouncing on the plagues and perversities lurking within them, which human sagacity cannot detect. But it says not much for the goodness of their cause that they possess so great an aptitude for wielding the carnal weapons of haughty disdain, when they judge and set at nought a brother, whom, if they have found erring, they have never endeavoured to restore in the spirit of meekness. And if I have been thus judged and set at nought, while I am conscious that my words have been wrested, and my purposes misconstrued, I owe it to myself and to truth to employ the means of undeceiving the public.

On the 10th of December Dr Chalmers thought fit to address a letter to the editor of an Edinburgh newspaper, referring to certain Resolutions previously published by my friends; and in that letter, inserted in the Advertiser of the 13th of December, he accused those gentlemen of engaging in "a reckless attempt to disturb the peace, and to endanger the interests, of the Church of Scotland,"—and insinuated, afterwards, that they had "no other object, than through the medium of the Church, and at the expense of its dearest interests, to achieve for themselves a party and political triumph." He concluded by denouncing "those who are now putting the best objects of our Establishment into jeopardy, by practising a gross delusion on the Ministers and Elders of the next General Assembly." In a pamphlet published a month afterwards, to which he gave the title of a "Conference with certain Ministers and Elders on the subject of the Moderatorship," he levels many other attacks on these gentlemen and me, the validity of which I now proceed to examine.



I cannot enter on the subject without saying at once, that it was never my lot to look upon so shadowy a fabric. The whole substratum of the argument is unreal. So many positions are assumed as facts which are the creation of some inventive mind, and so many facts are suppressed or partially related, that the conclusions drawn from them are necessarily delusive. It is not conceivable that any man of veracity would confidently advance as true what he does not certainly know to be true. But to me it is altogether inexplicable how Dr Chalmers has been induced to assert, with the utmost confidence, things which are utterly groundless, and which, therefore, are unsusceptible of proof. He has manifested a great disposition to think ill of a brother, and with unhesitating rashness he has gone forth to the public, labouring with all his might to prevail on others to believe his unjust and uncharitable aspersions.

Without adverting to many subordinate inaccuracies and misconceptions with which his pamphlet overflows, all of which are subservient to the accomplishment of his main design, I proceed to notice the first symptom of danger to which the eyes of Dr Chalmers are said to have been opened, when, in September 1835, I dissented from a resolution of the Commission of the General Assembly, on a particular ground of my own, which, he says, it is unnecessary to mention. On this occasion, he says I broke the clerical unanimity that would otherwise have stood forth in one entire and unbroken array against the Government, and thus I did as much as one man could do, to alleviate the discredit which the Government had incurred. He adds that only another member dissented, and he was an elder. It is right that I should relate what part I had previously taken in this matter, and what I actually did in this instance.

In January 1835, soon after Sir Robert Peel was placed at the head of a new administration, Dr Chalmers proposed, in a meeting of the Committee on Church Accommodation, that,

in conformity with the opinion of certain "public and parliamentary men," parishes should be encouraged to petition the Legislature to make provision for supplying the deficiency of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence. In this proposal there was a general acquiescence. But I then expressed my apprehension that the consequences might not prove so advantageous as seemed to be confidently anticipated. My conviction was, that the very first petition on behalf of the Church of Scotland, would be the signal for getting up counter-petitions, to which signatures would easily be obtained in vast numbers from the places where the destitution was the greatest, so that it might be questioned if our cause would not rather be obstructed than forwarded by this expedient. And I could not help thinking, that if the Government was favourably disposed (as I firmly believed it to be), the representations from the General Assembly should be sufficient. Though I held these opinions, and stated them in the committee, yet whenever I perceived that the resolution in favour of petitioning was general, I willingly took charge of a number of circulars, (after advising an alteration of a clause which seemed to approve of female signatures), and in writing to friends in the Church, I endeavoured to convey the views of the meeting as strongly as if I had never entertained any doubt on the subject. I afterwards learned that some of the most hearty friends of our church in Parliament, did not think that the transmission of the petitions had been a well-advised measure. In the course of the following summer a Deputation, appointed by the Assembly in May 1835, went to London and communicated the views of the church to Lord Melbourne, who had succeeded Sir Robert Peel as Prime Minister. The appointment of a Royal Commission of inquiry having been resolved on by the new Government, was acquiesced in by the members of the Deputation, who did their utmost to have the Commission so composed as to possess the confidence of the Church. In this attempt they were

unsuccessful, and they seemed also to be disappointed in the terms of the instructions given to the Commission. A strong sensation was excited in many parts of the Church, and much dissatisfaction on the nomination of Commissioners was expressed in several Presbyteries, as well as in the Commission of the Assembly in August.

On the subject of the Instructions contained in the Commission, dated 29th of July 1835, I introduced a conversation in the Presbytery of Edinburgh in August (when the members were alone), and afterwards in another meeting in September. On these occasions none of us who were present thought that the terms of the Instructions could be fairly considered as aiming a blow at our constitutional privileges. My views were stated without any reserve, and were reported in various newspapers in words stronger than those which I used,—for I never thought, and never said, that the civil magistrate had a right to require individual ministers to give an account of the manner in which they performed their duties either in public or in private; but I maintained that the King is entitled to inquire into all the matters to which the Royal Commission refers, and that it would be for the credit and the interest of the Church to furnish ample information on all these matters, more especially as the instructions had evidently been suggested by the terms of the application made by the Deputation in the name of the Church, and must, in all fairness, be understood in the sense which the Deputation attached to the words. About this time, however, a desire was expressed in various quarters to have an extraordinary “meeting of the Assembly’s Commission for the purpose of declaring our determination to resist the inquiry of the Commissioners into the manner in which we, as ministers of the Gospel, discharge our pastoral duties.” Such were the expressions in which the purpose was communicated to me by an Old Moderator, who, in his letter (dated September 5. 1835), requested me to converse with Drs Brunton and Gordon and other mem-

bers from the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and to state what view we took of the clause in the Instructions which had been complained of. Having been from home when this letter reached me, I could not communicate with my co-presbyters, but in my answer I stated that I did not perceive that the instructions necessarily involved any unconstitutional exercise of power on the part of the civil magistrate, and I had no reason to think that my co-presbyters were of a different opinion. I certainly expressed no partiality for his Majesty's Government, or for the Commissioners who had been appointed; but on the other hand, I would not profess to disapprove of a step which, if it had been taken by a former administration, might have appeared to others as well as to me reasonable enough. A meeting of the Commission was called. Dr Chalmers, as Convener, delivered a very detailed account of the proceedings of the Deputation in London, and gave utterance to much dissatisfaction with the Government and the Commissioners; and in the course of his speech he said that the Deputation might have remembered the possibility of a measure ostensibly favourable to the Church being handed over to some lurking, low-minded underlings of office, some hackneyed practitioners in politics, unencumbered by delicacy, truth, or honour, and on that account all the better qualified for the task of traversing the promises which the Government had made. He spoke of the Commissioners as if they had been selected for the purpose of celebrating the obsequies of the Church of Scotland, and in a style of mock solemnity likened them to grave-diggers and the other mean officials who are employed as the attendants of funeral processions. But in a more sober-minded strain he deprecated resistance to the inquiries, and in this part of his speech appeared to hold opinions very similar to those which I had expressed in the Presbytery. A resolution had been prepared which I had not seen till I came to the meeting, but in which I was willing to concur, as I had previously con-

curred in a declaration of the Commission in August. But Dr Cook made an addition to it, which appeared to me to be not only superfluous, but likely to operate as a very inconvenient and even disadvantageous restraint on ministers who might think it their duty to communicate fully such information relating to doctrine, worship, government, and discipline, as would be most likely to promote the purpose which the Church had at heart. I moved that this addition should be withdrawn, and I had good reason to know that if I pressed my motion, a number of ministers and elders would support it. I mention Dr Gordon as one who, though he did not join in the Dissent, assured me that he would have voted with me, if a vote had been taken. Having withdrawn my motion merely for the purpose of saving time, I entered a dissent on grounds which I had previously expressed, and which were afterwards given in. These Reasons of Dissent were read at the meeting of the Commission in November, when several members offered to sign them, but as Dr Burns of Paisley was the only member who had given in his name as dissentient, I told them that their subscription was inadmissible. Mr Bridges, who had seconded my motion on the 30th of September, and supposed that he had also dissented, subscribed the paper, but, on having his attention called to the irregularity, blotted out his name. The document, with this imperfectly erased signature, remained in the possession of the agent, and was never seen by me again till after it had been printed in Mr Bell's pamphlet. I take notice of these minute particulars, because it has been more than insinuated—it has been confidently asserted—that these Reasons were not lodged at the proper time, so as that members should have been aware of them. They were communicated as soon as they could be communicated, by being publicly read and laid on the table at the next meeting. And those who have so confidently represented that they are of recent manufacture, or that any *ruse* has been practised in the matter, have

propagated a falsehood. They are here added without any comment.

“Reasons of Dissent against the insertion of the following words in the Resolution of the Commission of the General Assembly, 30th September 1835:—‘*It being clearly understood that the Commission of the Assembly hold that it is not competent to the Commissioners to put to individual members any questions relating to the Doctrine, Worship, Government, or Discipline of the Church.*’”

“1st, There is no reason to conclude that it has been in the contemplation of his Majesty’s Government to put any questions on these matters which it would be improper for individual members to answer; and it does not appear to be very becoming to insinuate that there has been an intention which is not expressed in the Commission or Instructions.

“2d, It is possible to conceive that various questions might be put on these subjects, on which misapprehensions may be entertained, which it would be for the credit and interest of the Church to remove.

“3d, It is well known that questions on that subject have been answered without reserve by individual Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland, when examined by Committees of the House of Commons, and that the answers have not always been very complimentary to the general character of the Church; and yet it is not known that either the General Assembly, or any other Church Court, has censured those members for answering such questions.

“4th, It is the duty of every Minister of the Church to embrace every favourable opportunity of imparting correct information with regard to the principles and practices of the Church, and it would be difficult to assign any satisfactory reason for withholding from the King or his Commissioners, what a minister should be willing to communicate to every one whom he can benefit by his instructions.

“These reasons refer entirely to questions of a general nature, and not to such as may have a tendency to implicate other members of the Church; but I cannot perceive any impropriety in an individual minister stating what he conceives to be the peculiar advantage of the form of worship and government, as well as the excellencies of the system of doctrine and discipline established and ratified by law; and giving an account of the manner in which his time is occupied in professional study, —in the public offices of religion,—in private communications with his people,—in attendance on Church Courts, and other essential duties of his vocation, so as to shew how great a call there is for providing an additional number of labourers for the instruction, edification, and comfort of a rapidly increasing population, many of whom are sunk in ignorance, and addicted to every form of immorality.”

And now, since Dr Chalmers has brought into view this dissent of mine, as affording a proof of my disaffection to the best interests of the Church, or my alliance with a Government opposed to these interests, let me take the liberty of asking, if he himself held the same views which were expressed by the Commission of the Assembly in September 1835, or if he had not in reality suggested to the Government, and even pressed on their attention, the very inquiries which gave so great offence to the Church? I thought formerly that there was evidence of this sufficient, but much more has transpired in the Report of the Commission now printed. That Commission was granted in the end of July 1835. In the Appendix to the Report (page 201-203) is inserted a "Copy of a Paper, sent by the Assembly's Deputation to Lord Melbourne in July 1835," signed "Thomas Chalmers." In that paper it is said, "A most material point of inquiry is, in how far the families of the district *are benefited by the pastoral superintendence of their own Established clergymen*, or of the Dissenting ministers in their neighbourhood." And in the same paragraph it is said, that as the number of Dissenting chapels near the districts in which there is a great ecclesiastical destitution, have been imagined to alleviate this evil, "it will be right to enquire into such of these as are nearest to the population, more particularly into their *tenets*," &c. Now, on this point, I beg to know on what principle the Deputation of the General Assembly could take upon them to *affirm* that it would be right for the Commissioners to inquire into the *tenets of dissenting churches*, if the Commission of the Assembly was entitled to *deny* that it is competent to the Commissioners to put to any individual members any question relating to *the doctrine of the Established Church*. I do not, for my part, say that it was wrong in the Deputation to suggest an inquiry into the tenets which may be promulgated in dissenting places of worship, but I say, that if such an inquiry could be properly instituted in the case of Dissenters, it could not be incompetent to extend it to the Establishment ;

and, though it may be said that the doctrines of the Established Church are known from the published standards, and therefore it is unnecessary to question individual members of the Church, it must not be forgotten that individual ministers of the Church have voluntarily given evidence to the civil authorities, bearing on the doctrine both of the Church and the Dissenters. Thus, Principal Macfarlan stated to the Patronage Committee, that certain sects do not differ from the Church in what can be strictly called *doctrine*; and Mr Cunningham, in the same Committee, expressed his belief that many had left the Church because the preaching of the minister presented by the patron was not in accordance with the standards of the Church. If it was correct to state these things in answer to questions put by a Committee of the House of Commons, I do not see why it should not have been correct to state the same things to Commissioners appointed by the King. Accordingly, Dr Chalmers himself, in answering a question relating to the way of *making Dissenting meeting-houses effective*, did not scruple to recommend "the combining of the territorial principle with the variety of denominations," and said that, for this purpose, "Scotland is more favourably circumstanced than any other country, for in *Scotland there is not the difference of a straw, in point of theology, between the Church and the majority of Dissenters.*" His declarations on this matter involve questions of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and would have been considered very heterodox by the Covenanters, whose principles led them to protest vehemently against independency as not being God's ordinance, and one of the most dangerous errors of the times; while Dr Chalmers avers that the Independents differ from us only in a small circumstantial matter. Now, granting that Dr Chalmers is right, he cannot say that the standards of our Church warranted this declaration, or that any church-court authorized him to make it. And I do not see why he should be at liberty to speak so unreservedly on these points, while I am



condemned by him and others for protesting that certain questions, which relate to doctrine and discipline, might be put and might be answered without going so far as he has gone.

I have adverted to another expression contained in his letter to Lord Melbourne, suggesting, as a most material point of inquiry, "*how far* the families of the district *are benefited* by the *pastoral superintendence*, whether of their own established clergymen or of the dissenting ministers in their neighbourhood?" Is this an inquiry which does not affect the manner in which ministers perform their duty? Is it an inquiry which could be satisfactorily conducted without putting questions to individual members of the Church? And if Dr Chalmers was at liberty to suggest such an inquiry, why should I be condemned for saying that inquiries far less objectionable are not incompetent?

Most certainly it never entered into my imagination that questions such as were thus discussed by Dr Chalmers were to be put to individual clergymen—or that any individual minister or member of the church would, of his own accord, have made proposals which, so far as I know, have never been authorized by any of our ecclesiastical courts.

Another suggestion of Dr Chalmers relates to a very important matter, but one on which I do not know that the generality of the ministers of this Church can be said to have come decidedly to the conclusion at which he has arrived—namely, "the bearing which a thorough parochial division might have upon the amelioration of pauperism." I mention this subject now, without offering any remark upon it; but it is one to which I shall afterwards have occasion to advert. In the mean time, I have just to say farther, with regard to my dissent in the Commission, that if Dr Chalmers did not know what was the ground of my dissent, he had no right to assume that there was any danger in it. If he did know the grounds of that dissent, he has either condemned himself while he has condemned me, or else he has arrogated for him-

self a right of holding and possessing opinions at variance with those of the Church, while he exacts from me an implicit submission to the *dicta* of the majority.

It is said indeed by Mr Cunningham, that the mere fact of my having dissented alone, or nearly so, was sufficient to awaken Dr Chalmers's suspicions of me, and that, as Dr Chalmers was in no way pledged to support me, he was warranted in putting me aside, or rather it was incumbent on him to withdraw his support. Does Dr Chalmers, then, authorize Mr Cunningham to deny that he had sent a message to me that summer by Dr Welsh, expressive of his concurrence, at least, in the proposal to nominate me? Did he ever inform me that he withdrew his support, which, according to my information, he had offered? To whom did he express dissatisfaction with me till after the meeting of the Commission in November,—and when he took offence, did he say that it was on the ground of my dissent, the reasons of which had been by that time read publicly in the Commission? Did he condemn me, a member of the Commission, for dissenting from part of a resolution, from which he had himself dissented by anticipation the very same day, as far as one who was not a member could dissent,—from which also he had substantially dissented two months before, in his communications with Lord Melbourne in name of the Deputation, and from which, subsequently, he practically dissented, when he gave his evidence in February 1836, on questions relating to some of the very topics concerning which the Commission declared it to be incompetent for his Majesty's Commissioners to inquire? But supposing him to have been of the same mind with the Commission, am I to be reprobated and held out to public scorn, because I honestly and openly adhered to an opinion which, along with others, I had previously expressed, and which I would have been held to have abandoned, if I had tacitly acquiesced, as others are held to have done, merely because they were silent, though they had really not abandoned the opinion any more than I had done? More—

over, the supporters of the Government in the Commission did not join in my dissent. And as to what is said of the approbation of a radical newspaper, it is very clear that the paragraph quoted referred particularly to what I had said in the Presbytery of Edinburgh before the Commission met, and that what had then been publicly said was sufficiently explicit to prevent the fact of my dissenting in the Commission from being characterized as an unlooked for evolution.

In page 7, Dr Chalmers begins to discuss the mischief which might be done to the Church if the Government could secure the nomination "of a congenial Moderator, who, besides sustaining a representative character, would enjoy for a whole twelvemonth a representative access to the heads of the Government in London." I notice this part of his pamphlet, only because it betrays most unconstitutional views of the status and powers of a Moderator. The Moderator's brief authority (if the mere act of presiding in a representative body deserves that name) terminates at the moment of the dissolution of the particular Assembly by which he has been elected. He has not even a claim to preside in the Commission, for that court has the power of electing its own moderator, and does elect its own moderator. The Moderator of the last General Assembly is often the organ through which the Government sends communications to the Church ; but those who take strict views of our ecclesiastical privileges have always been very jealous of this practice ; and I have repeatedly heard strong and spirited remonstrances made in General Assemblies on the subject of such communications having been promulgated by the Moderator of the former General Assembly, without any consultation with the Commission, to which it was maintained they ought to have been submitted before they were published. The title of *present Moderator* of the General Assembly I have seen oftener than once in printed documents ; but the title is erroneously assumed. There cannot be a present moderator of a court which has ceased to exist. Strictly speaking, the Moderator of the

last Assembly is not even the proper organ for calling an extraordinary meeting of the Commission, unless he had presided at the last ordinary diet. Much less has he any representative access to the Government, unless he is the convener of a committee appointed with powers to communicate with the Government. So much at least has this been always my understanding, that I remember very well an occasion on which, as convener of a committee on the churches in the North American colonies, I went to Downing Street in October 1880, with Dr Chalmers himself and Dr Singer, the Moderator of the preceding Assembly, for the purpose of making a representation to Sir George Murray, then at the head of the Colonial Department, and on that occasion I did not feel that there was any presumption in personally fulfilling as I best could the charge which had been laid on me, in the presence of a Moderator, who, though as firm as any man could be in maintaining the privileges of the Church, and of the station which he had recently filled, was so far from thinking that his pre-eminence was encroached on, that not only then, but repeatedly since that time, both verbally and in letters, he expressed his warmest satisfaction with the manner in which I performed the duty assigned to me; and, indeed, the very last letter except one which I received from him, relating entirely to colonial churches (in attending to the affairs of which during many years I took much personal trouble), refers to my communications with the Colonial Office in terms too flattering to be quoted by me; but I may at least say, that they are as different as possible from those which have been selected by Dr Chalmers for the expression of his contempt and antipathy, when he says (in page 8), that "in such hands" as mine "the cause of Church extension might be postponed or extinguished; or even, though in mockery of our anticipations and our fears, a grant was conceded to us, it might, by the influence of an unfriendly or unintelligent Moderator, be unaccompanied with such good provisions, or accompanied with such bad ones, as to nullify the

great object of the grant—a cheap and universal Christian education to the families of the common people.” I consider this charge as grossly calumnious—and it is one which, if it was not dictated by malice, is at least unmitigated by charity.

Dr Chalmers, in page 8 of his pamphlet, speaks of the manifest good understanding between me and the friends of a government which had given such dissatisfaction to the Church of Scotland; and he afterwards asserts, that I had acquired an influence over Mr Bell, the Procurator, which he takes for granted was to be exerted to the detriment of the Church. Now, whether it be to my credit or to my shame, I beg leave to say, that I never have had any understanding good or bad with the present Government, and that I have no intimacy with any of its friends more than I have had for many years past. The Procurator and I have been long acquainted, and since he held an appointment in the Church, I have from time to time had official intercourse with him; but we are not in the habit of meeting often, and I have never imagined that I possessed any influence over him. While the Commissioners on Religious Instruction held their sittings here, I never called on him, nor he on me, and I never had any conversation with him on the subject, except what arose casually when I met him on the street. He never attempted to find out from me what information I had to communicate to the Board, or how far my opinions coincided with those of Dr Chalmers. The Procurator very well knew that I had a very strong desire for the fulfilment of the expectations of the Church in the matter of Endowments, and I never for one moment entertained the suspicion that any obstacle was to be dreaded from him. Most certainly after Dr Chalmers had offered a testimony directly in opposition to mine previously delivered, I did state to Mr Bell that the Doctor was in error on the subject of the fluctuation among the poorer inhabitants of the city, and that I wished to have an opportunity of vindicating the accuracy of my

former statement, which had been so unhesitatingly contradicted. But I positively declare, that neither Mr Bell nor any other Commissioner ever had any communication with me for the purpose of bringing out evidence on any part of the inquiry. I knew not one question which was to be asked at me. I had never spoken on the subject to one of the Commissioners present at any of my examinations. Mr Bell was not present at any of them, and so infrequent was our intercourse, that he had been weeks absent from Edinburgh before I knew of it. Indeed, I was somewhat surprised that he had not been present on any of the occasions when I gave evidence, and I did not learn for a considerable time that he was in England at the time of my second and third examination. There is not an approach to truth in the insinuation, that Mr Bell or any of the Commissioners ever had any concert with me, or had employed any means for the purpose of bringing out evidence from me favourable to their own preconceived wishes. The allegation I hold to be a gratuitous insult offered to myself personally, altogether unwarranted by any thing which I have ever said or done in the whole course of my life. With respect to the late period at which my evidence was given, it is easily accounted for. I had several letters from Mr Logan, urging me to name a day before which I would be ready to send in my returns to the queries, and to give such explanations to the Board as might be required. When the first letter was sent to me I had been only eight months connected with the parish, and I could not give any satisfactory returns without a special survey for the purpose. Two only of the elders could undertake to give any assistance, and the time of both was very limited. After they had proceeded very deliberately and carefully for some time, a melancholy interruption occurred, and they were not able to resume their labours. In the mean time, with the able assistance of Mr Edmonston, preacher of the Gospel, who had very accurately surveyed a more populous parish, I commenced operations in another

district, and having obtained also the help of Mr Wright (now a preacher), who had considerable experience in the business, we proceeded onward to a conclusion—so that all the parish had been passed through by the first week of February. The first part, however, had been surveyed without any particular inquiry having been made into the condition and means of subsistence of the inhabitants, forming the subject of query 6; and some other circumstances had been imperfectly reported. While Mr Edmonston or Mr Wright wrote down the particulars, for which there was room in the schedules, I had been in the habit of taking a note of various other facts; such as the rents—the weekly earnings, the children at school, or capable of going to school—the residence, long or short, of the several tenants;—and, when I was absent, Mr Edmonston took a memorandum of these particulars, which he handed over to me daily, along with a notice of any families who required to be visited on account of sickness or other causes. To complete the information on such topics, which had not been obtained at first, because the schedules contained no columns or spaces for that purpose, we re-surveyed a considerable part of the parish, including Blair Street, Stevenlaw's Close, and Bell's Wynd. This was what, in my first examination, I called the Second Survey. The meaning of this expression must be obvious to any one who attends to the answers to the first and second questions put to me on the 18th of February. Dr Chalmers and others have asserted, that, after his evidence was delivered, I went for the purpose of oversetting it, and personally surveyed the houses in the Cowgate or the neighbourhood, making no secret of my purpose. Now, confidently as this has been affirmed, and violently as I have been assailed for having so unbecomingly misemployed my time, the accusation (for it is meant to be an accusation) is altogether false. I made no additional survey after the 18th of February,—nor did I go to a single house in my parish for the purpose of collecting

facts of this nature. The only evidence which I acquired to a greater extent than before, was derived from well-informed individuals, particularly some landlords and house-factors, and from the books of the Surveyor for the Improvements, which I had examined two months previously. It may be noticed, indeed, that on the 18th of March, I mention, that when I went round a second time, I found, on the whole, that the number had been understated. But the fact is, that my second circuit, which was only partial, had been completed, as far as it went, before the 18th of February, with the exception of such houses as were not open when we made the first call, and a considerable number of houses had been marked, chiefly by Mr Edmonston, as containing persons who required to be visited. At the top of page 10 of my evidence, I refer to a man in Borthwick's Close, whom I visited after the survey was made, and who mentioned, that three out of the seven families in the stair had removed in little more than a month. This man's name is John M'Glashan. He had expressed to Mr Edmonston a particular desire to see me, as he was in distress, and as he had known me many years. The names of the persons who had left the place between the 2d of February and the 7th of March were, *Milton*, *Douglas*, and *Hunter*. All the families whom I saw between my first and second examination were either in want or in affliction; and my visits were not of a nature which any right-hearted man would have attempted to turn to ridicule. I could have been ready in a very few days after my first examination to state all that I stated a month afterwards. But the Commissioners appeared to have made arrangements which imposed on me the necessity of waiting till they were ready to receive me, and when I went by appointment, on the 17th of March, at an early hour, I found that others were entitled to have the start of me, and after waiting a considerable time, it was necessary for me to apply for another day. Indeed, Mr M'Laren's evidence on



the 17th, lasted from 10 till half-past 6 in the evening. It never entered into my imagination that the procrastination, which arose chiefly out of circumstances over which I had no control, could have been attributed to the design of furnishing me with the opportunity of oversetting any other person's evidence. The fact was, that for a very considerable time I had not anticipated any examination. The ministers of Edinburgh had met, and had resolved that they would apply for no additional means beyond those which have long existed, and were not, therefore, in the circumstances which, according to my understanding, called for any such inquiry. After I learned that this process must be gone through, I went just once to hear what sort of questions were asked—and the occasion which I took was when Dr Gordon gave in the returns of the High Church parish. The questions put to him related entirely to matters of statistical detail, and they were so few in number, and so easily answered, that I never thought of making any particular preparation. I had not heard the evidence of Dr Chalmers on the 18th of February, and did not know any part of its substance, but had merely heard that it had excited and gratified the curiosity of a numerous audience. If any of the questions put to me were suggested by what Dr Chalmers had said, I was not aware of it then, nor was I even told so afterwards,—and all the questions were put to me by gentlemen with whom I had never exchanged words on any of the points of inquiry, and most of whom, indeed, I had never seen before. When I afterwards heard the evidence which Dr Chalmers gave on the 20th of February, and perceived that one at least of my statements was contradicted, I did, unquestionably, ask to be examined again, though not merely on that account, but chiefly that I might give such a representation of the state of my parish as in my judgment could leave no room for calling in question the claim which every such locality must have on the serious attention of any Government which deserves to be characterised as the ordi-

nance of God for good. And whatever may be alleged with regard to my purposes, I trust that no candid man who reads my evidence will detect in it any symptom of disaffection towards the extension of the Church. In fact, the first object of my statement given in on the 18th of March, was to undertake to prove that the enumeration produced by the Dissenters was erroneous, and that even the census which I had given myself understated the number of inhabitants; for I could not venture to include families which I did not find at home. In another part of the same paper, I adverted to Mr M'Laren's evidence of the preceding day, in which he made light of the labour of superintending such small spaces as the parishes of the old town, the lofty houses of which (as I stated) are sometimes crowded with more than 40 families, so that one building in my parish contains a population greater than some country parishes; for I know more than one, whose inhabitants do not amount to 200. Dr Chalmers has said (in page 10 of his pamphlet), that a few evenings after his evidence was delivered on the 20th of February, in which he stated, among other things, his reason for thinking that the fluctuations in town parishes were much overrated (the reason being, that at the last half-yearly term of flitting, only eight new families had come to the Water of Leith), Mr Bell called upon him, and informed him that I had come up to him and stated, that Dr Chalmers was altogether wrong; and that the fluctuations of the families were both so rapid and extensive, that little or no good could be done by a minister in the way that Dr Chalmers stated. Mr Bell has given a different account of his calling upon Dr Chalmers, not only once but twice, and both times before the first examination of Dr Chalmers. It is not for me to settle this point; but of one thing I am very sure, that Mr Bell could not have said, that I came up to him and told him that Dr Chalmers was altogether wrong, and that little or no good could be done in the way specified by Dr Chalmers. I have asked Mr Bell, if by any possibility he could have

expressed himself in terms such as these, and he says that he could not. I walked along the street a little way with Mr Bell, after the evidence of Dr Chalmers was concluded on the 20th of February, two days after my first evidence had been given, and I certainly said to him, that the few changes said to occur in the house-letting at the Water of Leith, were no proof that the changes were few in the poorest districts of the Old Town, where, according to my observation, the changes were numerous and frequent; but I did not say that little or no good could be done in the method pointed out by Dr Chalmers. I have ever conceived that great good may be done by a watchful oversight of parishes, and the accumulation of instances of extreme destitution and spiritual deadness which fell under my notice in rapid succession last year, convinced me more and more of the urgency of the call to multiply and extend the Christian assiduities and benevolent artifices, by which the power of truth might be made to bear on the inert mass slumbering in dismal apathy, or rather inured to vice, and enamoured of darkness. But while I say this, I am not to be expected to say at once, in opposition to my own conviction, that every practice which has not succeeded to the full, must have been founded in error, or, that other practices which have been only partially tried, are sure to succeed. And I am by no means sure that every man will succeed equally by following the same uniform plan. At all events, I never imagined it to be my duty to suppress facts which have stared me in the face for many years, merely because it has been alleged that enemies have made a bad use of them, or because friends have not witnessed the same facts in the places with which they are best acquainted.

I do not know what right Dr Chalmers had to tell the Procurator that I was not to be trusted for my observation or for my judgment, in those practical matters which entered into any question of Church economics, though he says that he had heard a hundred times over the same exaggerated estimate of town fluctuations. If he had heard exaggerated

estimates a hundred times over, he had certainly not heard them from me; nor had I ever heard or read any exaggerated estimate of the matter. It is said that Mr Adam Black had made a similar statement in a pamphlet published two years ago. That pamphlet I have never seen, and I never heard that it contained any such statement. Dr Chalmers says that it is a most revolting view that is taken of the plebeian families of Edinburgh, when they are looked on as we would look on a gipsy race of irreclaimable wanderers, the outcasts of a hopeless degeneracy, every effort for recalling whom to the Christian observances of other days is to be heartlessly laughed at as a school-boy imagination; and he speaks of the mental agony to be endured in perpetually encountering the endless crudities and perversities of men who have bestowed little thought and have no experience on the subject.

Whatever may be the value of Dr Chalmers's experience, I do not acknowledge his right to arrogate this almost exclusive acquaintance with these matters. For not much less than thirty years, I have had the best possible opportunities of knowing the condition and habits of the poor in a greater variety of situations than it has fallen to the lot of every one to witness. From the beginning of 1808 to the end of 1812 I was minister of Peebles, and, out of about 600 families, there was not one to whose character and circumstances I was a stranger. To this hour I remember the names of the poorest of them, and could find my way without a guide to the meanest of their dwelling-places. The care of the poor devolved chiefly on myself personally; and though during two of the years of my incumbency the prices of provisions were enormously increased, I succeeded in warding off the evils of a compulsory assessment. Inexperienced as I certainly was at the commencement of my incumbency, the administration of these affairs was satisfactory both to the rich and the poor. The allowances were not stinted, but there was no beggary, and there was no such thing as an uneducated

child. A very large proportion of my time was occupied in such intercourse with the most unfriended, as gave me access to know their past history, as well as the state to which they had been reduced. And I could not possibly be ignorant of all the advantages of a strict parochial system in a situation which was attended with difficulties greater than were common in that part of the country, for, while I had a larger rural population than many of the neighbouring ministers, I had also a town containing more than 2000 inhabitants, and no considerable heritor whose residence was constant. But I have been now fifteen years connected with three of the poorest parishes in this city, and, whatever else I have done or left undone, I have acquired a knowledge of the very lowest of the people, which enables me to speak confidently from personal observation, with regard to their modes of life, their temporal disadvantages, and their still more lamentable destitution of spiritual blessings. Not a few of them, whose cases are in almost every respect deplorable, have been known to me long ago when they lived in comfort and credit, apparently blameless in the observance of the outward duties of religion, though now they seem to be past feeling, and sunk to the lowest debasement. I say not that they are to be abandoned and cast off. But there are among them inveterate transgressors, and particularly the slaves of the degrading vice of intoxication, of whose restoration the prospect is far from being sanguine,—because they hate reproof, and shut their ears against instruction. I know not who is so heartless as to laugh at the attempts to reclaim them. But this I know, that no sadness of heart could be heavier than that which has oppressed me times without number, when in looking upon them I could trace no affinity with the worth and the wisdom of which I have elsewhere seen so many bright examples. Nor have I ever thought it enough to cherish for them the unavailing compassion which does not urge such as feel it to try, even against hope, to bring them back from their wanderings. But it pleases Dr Chalmers stoutly

to aver, that such men as Mr Bell and I would frustrate all the benefits of the parochial system, because we do not, in his arrogant opinion, understand the bearing of the town fluctuations on the cause of Church Extension.

From the middle of the 11th page Dr Chalmers proceeds with a complication of charges against me, which are overloaded with inaccuracies. He takes for granted that either Mr Bell had asked me, or that I had offered, to upset the testimony which he had given ; and he affirms, that, for this task, I made diligent preparations,—exploring the police-books of the city, and making a survey in person among the houses in or bordering the Cowgate. Now, I say deliberately, that whoever told Dr Chalmers all this, told him what is not true. I was not asked to upset his testimony. I did not offer to upset his testimony. To prepare even for such a task, I did not explore the police-books of the city,—nor for such a purpose did I make a survey in person. I made no survey in person except before my first examination, when I did not know a word that he had said ; and the survey which I made embraced no objects but those which were pointed out in the queries. For no such end did I examine the police-books ; I never examined what can with any propriety be called the police-books ; and I never had in my possession such a guide to my footsteps as Mr Waddell, with premeditated and tenacious impertinence, has called a tax-gatherer's survey. I had, and still have, in my possession a list containing chiefly the names of people who are not taxed at all on account of their poverty, and this list exhibited clear proof of some particulars which were not comprehended in the purpose for which I had originally obtained it. I shall explain this circumstance. In the summer of 1854, a Committee of the Presbytery was appointed to confer with a Committee of the Town Council with regard to a new division of parishes. I was the only minister who attended the joint meeting of the two Committees. A sketch of a division was proposed, and the Superintendent of

Works was directed to make out a plan of it adapted to a map of the city. After repeated attempts, a scheme was drawn out in December 1834, but it was never seen by me till November 1835, after a new Committee of the Presbytery had been appointed for the same purpose as before. Being dissatisfied with the Superintendent's scheme, I asked him on what principle the boundaries had been determined. I understood him to say, that the population had been calculated by the police-rental. Knowing that this rental includes no houses of a lower rent than L. 5, and that the survey for the Commissioners of Improvements extends to all properties, however small (that the assessment payable by proprietors may be ascertained), I applied to Mr Bridges, the Clerk to the Commissioners of Improvements, requesting him to shew me the list of houses which were rented below L.5. He shewed me the list for the preceding year, and I took a copy of the names of the poorest householders in my parish. Mr Bridges told me that the survey for the current year was not given in, but, if it was any object to me to have the latest list, the only way of obtaining it would be by applying to Mr Paterson the surveyor, who would at any rate shew me his scroll-book, if the copy had not been completed. I applied to Mr Paterson, who produced to me the scroll-book, containing the names of the householders in the Old Church parish. This book required some explanation, being written in ink of three colours, black, red, and green; and very many of the names were erased. On asking the meaning of these varieties, I was told that the names entered in *black ink* represented the tenants of 1833-4,—the names in *red* the tenants who came in 1834-5, in place of those which, having been marked in black, were erased,—and the names in *green* such as had come in 1835-6, in place of those which had been previously marked either in black or in red. I was not prepared to expect so great a number of changes, and in fact I had then made no inquiry after changes at all, but I could not help asking to what extent the

changes went. He said that they varied in different parts of the town; but in the poorest closes he thought the removals amounted to about two-thirds of the population. I obtained a copy of the list of inhabitants in the Old Church parish, and I found that the householders in the closes whose highest rent was L.3 a-year were not fewer than 400. This number included several families which the surveyor could not positively attest to be in the Old Church parish, as the lower boundary is not distinctly defined, because there are nine or ten stairs leading to houses in the line of the Cowgate, in which some of the inhabitants are in the parish of the Old Church, and the remainder in that of the Old Greyfriars. Now, let it be remarked, that I obtained this list at first for the purpose of ascertaining the number of the poorest of the families, which might be included in a new allocation of my parish, of which the south boundary was to be that portion of the Cowgate which has long been the north-east boundary of the Old Greyfriars; and as I had the prospect of having this space thrown hereafter into my parish, I did not attempt to distinguish the families in that line of street which were already in my parish, from those which were intended to be taken in. But having seen such *ex facie* proof of mutability in the population greater than I anticipated, I inquired more particularly than before at the landlords, and several factors or collectors of rents, from most of whom I learned, that the changes were more numerous than what occurred at Whitsunday or Martinmas, as there were many who paid their rents weekly, or monthly, or quarterly, and who, when they became irregular in their payments, were liable to be removed. Several yearly tenants paid at these short intervals, or at least undertook so to pay. But landlords in general stated, that most of the payments were irregular or deficient, and that it was scarcely worth their while to preserve some of their properties from falling into ruin. With some landlords I had had repeated communications, for the purpose of inducing them to remove disorderly tenants, and thus



to abate the moral nuisances occasioned to the neighbourhood, and to the community, by their contaminating presence. But I generally found, that those were accounted the best tenants, who, whatever was their mode of life, gave the least trouble in the collection of their rents. With regard to removals, I found that very many of them were to be accounted for, not by any caprice or flightiness on the part of the tenants, but by the unwillingness of the landlords to retain such tenants as did not pay with regularity, or such as did not pay at all. Many were reported to go away clandestinely, while they were in arrears, and such persons seldom removed to the vicinity of their deserted dwellings;—more especially as they often had other debts besides those which were due to the landlord. It is more than twelve years since I knew that several proprietors of mean houses were in the constant habit of letting them by the week, and that, in this way, though they considered it the most likely to yield some return, the return was often very uncertain. But I never knew of any quarter of the town in which the changes were so numerous as in the parish of the Old Church. By the surveyor's account the changes in some other districts were nearly in the same proportion; and all these districts were said to be such as have been for years past inhabited by people who are almost entirely in a state of the deepest poverty. The day before my last examination I borrowed two of the scroll-books of the Surveyor for the Improvements, and produced them to the Commissioners. From these books I took a note of the amount of changes in two years, and these I delivered in.

Dr Chalmers says, that my exaggerations on the amount of parish removals are monstrous. And he tells his readers that he had employed two of his *best statistes* to make a survey, one in my old, and the other in my present parish. Not to mention the unhandsomeness of sending emissaries to survey another minister's parish without his knowledge, I maintain that the unnamed agents of Dr Chalmers have not con-

victed me of inaccuracy. My sole authority for the amount of changes was the survey taken by Mr Paterson, a man whose industry and correctness I had never heard questioned. I observe that Mr Collins, in his published evidence laid before the Commission last summer, represents it to be a sure test of the accuracy of the census of Mid-Calton, that it had been compared with the survey-book of the Captain of Police in Calton, and had been found to correspond with it. The title Captain of Police may be somewhat more imposing to the ears of strangers than *surveyor*, the less ostentatious designation conferred on Mr Paterson, but the latter need not shrink from a comparison with any officer, of whatever name, whose duties are identical. And if Mr Collins takes credit for the coincidence of his survey with that of the Captain of Police in the burgh of Calton, where is the decency or consistency of the men who, approving such a test of accuracy in Glasgow, think fit to deride me for referring to a similar document in Edinburgh, which has been prepared with the greatest care year after year?\*

But Dr Chalmers trusts implicitly to two of his best statisticians, and distrusts altogether the Surveyor for the Improvements, who in this matter is my authority, and who has at least the advantage of a name which is known and respected.

\* My numbers did not coincide with those of Mr Paterson, for reasons which are easily explained. In Blair Street I found 33 families, and he accounted for no more than 28. Two of mine were included in a large printing establishment, which he does not represent as containing any dwelling-house; and there are several such cases in the parish, in which one proprietor, or one company, pays all the taxes, and the tenants, not being rated, are not named. In other cases, the surveyor's numbers exceeded mine. It sometimes happens that one person takes half a flat, or perhaps a whole flat, and subsets the several apartments which he does not require; and in such a case, if all the occupiers are named as separate tenants, the taxes on houses above L. 5 rent are saved. My numbers in Bell's Wynd were 64 families. The surveyor's books here give 72 dwelling-houses. I found several of these empty, or else the occupiers were from home, and their neighbours did not know their names. The surveyor's number of families over the whole parish exceeded mine by more than 100. The houses in the closes which paid not more than L.3 rent he made 416. I called them about 400; and it was of this portion of the inhabitants that I spoke when I said that most of them were weekly tenants, or that they paid by the week or month; and that, by the surveyor's account, nearly two-thirds moved in the course of the year.

Who are Dr Chalmers' best statist? If any weight is due to their testimony, why are their names suppressed? One is said to have been sent to my old parish, meaning the parish of Lady Yester's, of which I had not spoken at all. That statist must know very little of Edinburgh, if he furnished Dr Chalmers with the description which applies the name of the St Giles's of Edinburgh to any part of Lady Yester's, and particularly to the east side of the College Wynd, "and all that part of the south side of the Cowgate which is in Lady Yester's." The College Wynd contains very respectable inhabitants, and the south-east portion of the Cowgate is that which is represented in some of Dr Chalmers' own published tables as containing a larger proportion of church-going people than any other poor district in Edinburgh of which he has given an account. That statist has not contradicted me, as he speaks of a matter of which I had not spoken; but he contradicts the present Minister and Elders of Lady Yester's, who, without any communication with me, represented the population as fluctuating. I could easily prove him to be very far from accurate; and Dr Chalmers reckons without his host, when he says that this unnamed agent has disproved my testimony.

His other statist appears to possess a considerable share of assurance. On his authority chiefly, it is asserted that my evidence was far wider of the truth than that of the most reckless of the Voluntaries, who went forth on the same errand. It ill becomes him to speak of the recklessness of the Voluntaries. His account of the numbers in the Old Church parish falls far short of the number allowed by the Dissenters. They stated the numbers as being about 300 fewer than I gave in, but his slovenly computation reduces the number to at least 540 fewer than mine; and no misrepresentation can have a worse effect than this. I cannot imagine who can have given him the list of weekly and monthly tenants. In the very first close two landlords, the one having ten and the other eighteen tenants, gave me a list of twenty-two weekly or monthly, and six quarterly. In some other closes they are

far more numerous; and Mr Edmonston, who accompanied me in my survey, was quite surprised at the numbers who, of their own accord, stated themselves as paying from 6d. to 9d. a-week,—though they are generally disposed to state their rent by the year. But I may have occasion afterwards to advert more fully to this matter. In the mean time, I think it right that it should be known who are the persons whom Dr Chalmers dignifies with the title of his best statist. I asked Mr Waddell, who I thought was likely to be the man who surveyed the Old Church parish. He said he had been asked to do it, but declined. He did not, however, think himself at liberty to tell who asked him, or who was employed, till he obtained permission. He afterwards stated to me in writing, that the surveyor was “Mr Malcolm Stewart, accountant in Edinburgh.” I inquired at several gentlemen of that profession if they knew such an accountant, but they did not know the name. I have been since told that he is a person who collects accounts, and that he occasionally acts as a poll-clerk at elections, or in some of the subordinate employments under the Board of Improvements. I mean no disparagement to the young man when I say, that I think Mr Edmonston and Mr Wright, who took the survey of the Old Church parish, are incomparably superior to him; and that his experience and discernment as a surveyor must be immeasurably below that of Mr Pater-son. Yet he is extolled as one of the best of the statist. of Dr Chalmers. Of the other I decline saying any thing, because I understand him to be a person who is aiming at a profession for which he has not yet been found qualified.

I do not know if the applauded surveyor of the Old Church parish, who has found so few people in it, has preserved lists of the names of the inhabitants for successive years as I have done; but I am not at a loss to give numerous instances of the varying state of the population. About this time last year there were fifty-seven out-pensioners of the Charity Work-house in the parish. In a few months, thirty-three had moved out of it, and dispersed themselves in different direc-

tions. During the last twelve months the changes are not likely to have been quite so numerous as before among the tenants whose terms of occupancy were short ; for in consequence of an act of Parliament abolishing imprisonment for small debts (which came into operation in January 1836), landlords have not the power of removing tenants by the same summary process as before, and hence the proprietors of small houses generally pronounce it to have been a very bad law. Even the weekly tenants set them at defiance ; as when once they obtain possession, they cannot be ejected, without either a sequestration (which would cost more than the amount of the rent in many cases), or what is called a *pasch warning*, which being given at Easter, would compel them to remove at Whitsunday. But even within the last year the changes have been very numerous. On the 22d of March, having heard of four families in great distress, I went to visit them. The head of one of them had died during the night. He had come from Glasgow last summer. A widow with a large family had come with her family from Dundee, in *June month*, as she expressed it. A third poor man with his family had come also from Dundee during the summer. Both these families had moved a few weeks before into houses which were ruinous, the one in Bell's Wynd, and the other in Stevenlaw's Close, where they pay no rent, and one of them has moved again from the parish. A fourth had come from the New Greyfriars' parish a few months ago.\* The movements are very commonly the consequences of inability to pay even very small rents. Many landlords are very indulgent, though

\* This very day, April 21, I have seen several specimens of these changes. A glass-cutter and family from the Canongate, where he was ten months, has been two months in Borthwick's Close at 6d. a-week, and moves in a day or two to Lady Yester's parish. In the same stair, a family from Glasgow have been three months at 7d. a-week. Another old woman in the same stair at 6d. a-week, has been removed to-day in a dying state. In this house, I have never seen an article of furniture but a broken teakettle and an old teapot. The only seat was a round stone. She had no bed, and generally no straw, but slept on the floor in the clothes she wore during the day. She is 89 years of age : and to this wretched creature well-dressed people sometimes resorted to have their fortunes told. Within these few days, I have spent some time unprofitably in trying to find out two parishioners, both of whom have moved, and none of the neighbours can tell to what place. The fortune-teller had been more than two years there.

receiving scarcely any rent for years; but many of them being poor, cannot afford to be indulgent,—and I have been told of two, who, when there ceased to be any prospect of payment, have occasionally extruded their tenants by taking away the doors or windows, and thus rendering the houses for the time uninhabitable.

Dr Chalmers, in p. 11, says he does not know whether Mr Bell asked me, or I offered, to overset his testimony. He confidently assumes that the one or the other supposition must be true; but both suppositions are equally false. His insinuation concerning the identity of the animus which impelled the Dissenters and me is unworthy of a man of candour; and all that he says afterwards of the mischievousness of my movement, and the deadly import of my testimony, must be undeserving of regard, if I can prove that my statements were founded on incontestible evidence. And for my part I must confess myself unable to comprehend how that could be, as he says it was, a testimony on the side of voluntarism, which represents the most crowded sections of the ancient royalty as being in a great measure inhabited by persons in such a state of destitution, that many of them are unable to pay with regularity rents varying from 6d. to 9d. a-week, and consequently not likely to be able to pay for accommodation in churches, of which the ministers are maintained by the produce of seat-rents. But it pleases Dr Chalmers, with marvellous inconsistency, to say, in page 11 of his Conference, that the multitude of town fluctuations, if real, would be an argument not against, but *a fortiori* in favour of the Church Extension Scheme; and then on the next page, that my testimony on the multitude of fluctuations was of deadlier import than that of all the enemies of the Church against the principles of a territorial establishment.

Dr Chalmers has next said (p. 12), that, besides speaking of the migratory habitus of the people, I took a large and extensive view of the whole question; and all this he assumes to have been subsequent to an examination of his which I determined to overset. Be it observed, that this is not

the fact. I did not take an excursive view of the whole subject. I did not touch at all on most of the positions which I now see in his evidence, and of which at that time I had not heard. I knew not a word that he had said, and not one of the instances which he specifies had been premeditated; for I had not the slightest expectation of having any questions proposed except such as related to statistical facts.

Dr Chalmers thinks fit to assert, that in all my printed evidence which he has seen, innumerable instances occur of the use of indefinites, or the prefixing of a negative particle to determinate words when they happen to be employed, as *not exactly, not strictly, not altogether*. Certainly I do not deal always in superlatives and hyperboles, as he is wont to do; yet, in spite of this tendency of his, I could remind him of certain evidence of his own (on the Poor in Ireland), in which he was *scarcely able to reply* to very plain questions on the most fundamental matters of fact, and in which he could *say very little from personal observation*, but had only a *vague recollection*, or could *not very well say*, or *could scarcely say*, or *was sorry that he was not furnished with numbers*, or *could not state with numerical precision*, or *thought it very likely they might be about equal*, or *was inclined to think*, or *felt doubtful*, or *at present thought*, or *had attended in a general way*, or *was not sure*, or *would not like to commit himself to any precise answer upon that matter*. I could refer to more awkwardly ambiguous expressions than any of these in that evidence, particularly to the manner in which the expression *I think*, or *I do not think*, is often introduced; thus, in one sentence, *I think—but I do not think—though I think*.\* This is the way in which Dr Chalmers deals with me; and I would be ashamed to notice such venial peculiarities, if I did not feel it to be due to myself to remind him, that he often uses forms of expression as ambiguous as *not exactly*, which I do

\* His late evidence contains various specimens of uncouth circumlocutions. Thus, in p. 276, where, not very intelligibly, he proposes to compromise a very important matter, he does not say, in a straightforward way, *I hope*, but *I am not unhopeful*.

not believe can be found occurring five times in 150 folio pages of evidence on six different subjects, almost all of which was given after very short notice. I have been at pains to look through all my printed evidence, and I find very few examples of such words, and where they do occur, I do not perceive how I could have with propriety spoken more dogmatically. In my evidence on the Observance of the Sabbath, I observe such an expression just once, and it is in answer to the question, "Then you conceive that it is in consequence of the inefficiency of the law more than of the inefficiency of the administration of the law, that these evils have grown to their present height?" The answer was, "No, I would not exactly say so; because it is consistent with my knowledge that the law, even as it is, might operate to a considerable extent in checking abuses, if it were strictly administered." I am not ashamed of this answer as betraying any want of decision, nor have I any reason to retract or to blush for any of the answers which I gave on that occasion, brief as was the warning which I had of the examination. On that occasion I did not omit to bear a strong testimony in favour of the necessity not only of "additional church accommodation," "increased provision for the religious education of youth," and particularly "the use of the Scriptures in schools;" but also in favour of "vigilant pastoral superintendence," and more frequent "parochial visitation by the ministers of parishes." This was in July 1832. I find one instance of the expression "not exactly" in my evidence on the state of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in June 1828; and I take notice of it here, because a most unfair misrepresentation of the answer to which I refer, was published afterwards by an intimate friend of Dr Chalmers, viz. Dr Strachan, at that time considered as the most rancorous enemy of the Presbyterian interests in Canada. I had spoken of the different ways in which ministers were sometimes appointed to distant colonies. I was then asked, "Are the Committee to conclude that neither can the right of election exercised by the Seceders, nor can the right of patronage in the congregations of the Church of Scotland,



be acted upon in Canada in the same way as they are in Scotland?" My answer was, "No, I would not exactly wish that that should be inferred, for in the case to which I last adverted, there is probably an election." I then related the case of Mr Sheed at Ancaster, who, when a preacher, had gone to that part of Canada; and having been in the habit of preaching for some time in a chapel which had been built there, was at last called by the people, so that in this case there was an election. Dr Strachan, who had represented this as an Episcopal church, and who was anxious to impugn the accuracy of my statement (which rested entirely on the accounts which I had received from Presbyterians in Canada), printed a pamphlet in which he says, "In speaking of Mr Sheed, you say, 'a chapel was built *for him*,'" and then he proceeds to contradict what I had not said, telling me that the chapel was never built for Mr Sheed, but was at first a free church, and at length was bought by the Episcopalians. Dr Strachan could not otherwise contradict me than by interpolating the words *for him*, which I had not used, and which were quite inconsistent with my account of a preacher having for a time preached in a church to which he was at last elected. This is one of the ways of dealing with evidence, so as to refute it,—*not exactly* the way which Dr Chalmers takes. Dr Strachan adds; Dr Chalmers subtracts. Both misquote. I dwell no longer on this matter just now. But with regard to being indefinite, I cannot find in my evidence on the King's Printer's Patent, any trace of such a peculiarity as Dr Chalmers ascribes to me; and if there be any examples of it in my evidence on Church Patronage, I am sure they must be very few. I have rather reason to regret that in some instances I have relied too confidently on what I thought at the time satisfactory authority, and have thus stated matters too decidedly which it would have been more prudent to qualify. And there is no obligation, in my opinion, which ought to weigh more with any conscientious witness than that of scrupulously guarding against the risk of stating any thing without reserve on which he is not fully persuaded in his own

mind. I know men who have no hesitation in making unqualified assertions, as if no shadow of uncertainty rested on them, and as if what may be true in particular circumstances must be equally true in all; though it may be found on more careful inquiry that it would have been safer to abate the assurance with which general conclusions are sometimes drawn from partial observations.

I shall not enlarge at present on the account which Dr Chalmers gives (in the 18th page) of the means which he took unsuccessfully to obtain my evidence. He does not tell through what channel he obtained so much as to warrant him to say that he was quite sure as to the import of my answers, and as to their injurious effect on the scheme of Church Extension. I cannot conceive how he could express this assurance, unless he possessed more than he quoted; and if he possessed more, I hold that it was not honest either to withhold essential clauses, or to substitute words of his own for those which I had used. It was to me a matter of great regret when I heard that he did not obtain the evidence, but I laboured under a much greater disadvantage than he; for of that which he professed to communicate with substantial correctness, I had preserved no trace whatever, with the exception of two sentences; and even after I had been publicly accused on grounds which I maintained, and still maintain, to have been unfair, the Commissioners refused to allow me the inspection of my own evidence for the defence of my character. I felt at the time that after the assault which had been causelessly made on me as having gone to the Board for the purpose of contradicting the evidence of Dr Chalmers, I would have required the use of his evidence as well as mine; but I contented myself with an application for my own, which in the circumstances I did not think could by any possibility have been refused. My purpose was to publish the whole of it, and I made repeated efforts to obtain it. I have recently seen a letter of one of the coadjutors of Dr Chalmers, who has had the effrontery to insinuate that it must have been my wish to have the evi-

dence concealed, and that if it had not been for his services, he knows not in what altered shape it might afterwards have appeared. An insinuation so base and so unmanly is worthy only of a mind addicted to backbiting, and prone to take up a reproach against a neighbour. I was more impatient than any one else could be to have my evidence published, and the very hour when I obtained it (which was not till copies of the report were on sale in Edinburgh) I sent it to the press, without any comment. So far is it from being true that there was any disposition to alter a word, that I had never obtained the opportunity (such as I believe most other witnesses had) of revising and correcting the extended notes of my evidence of the 18th and 19th of March. And I may add, that I never even saw a proof-sheet, except in a very hurried manner, one day while I was busily engaged at a meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly. The sheet was put into my hands after I went into the Assembly aisle, and was returned when I went out, after having had, I think, not more than six very slight verbal corrections marked on it, two of which I distinctly remember. That proof-sheet has, it seems, disappeared. I mention these minute circumstances, because my friends assure me that they have heard allegations, which I cannot imagine would ever have been hazarded except by persons capable of the unfair dealing which they are so ready to ascribe to others.

And now for the evidence. Dr Chalmers says that I told the Commissioners in substance, that the idea of making congregations *wholly* parochial in a *parish* like Edinburgh, was *chimerical*, and in some respects not desirable. The Scottish Guardian afterwards undertaking to give the very words of my evidence, represents me to have said "I think the idea of making congregations *strictly* parochial in a city like this, *wholly* visionary and *impracticable*, and in some respects not desirable." How the word *wholly* came into either the one version or the other, that man can best explain who previously states that I am accustomed to use indefinites.

I had been asked, "If there was a good church, would it make the congregation more parochial?" and my answer was, "I do not know that it would. I think the idea of making congregations *strictly* parochial in a city like this, is *almost* visionary and impracticable, and in some respects not desirable." And then I proceeded to state some of the respects in which I thought it not desirable, referring particularly to the manner in which the bonds of society may be expected to be strengthened and hallowed, by the coming together of the rich and the poor in the house of prayer. I had not said that the idea was *wholly* visionary, but that it was *almost* visionary and impracticable. An approximation to the practice, I thought might be attained, and if there be a due mixture of conditions in the parish, I would think it desirable. In the letter which I sent to the Commissioners on the 7th of October 1835, and which was read to several of the Ministers of Edinburgh at the time, I had said, after describing some of the peculiarities in our ecclesiastical arrangements, "It is not to be expected in the present circumstances of society, that (whatever may have been the case originally), the congregations in the city and suburbs will ever become strictly parochial; and thus, to an extent which it is impossible to calculate, the labours of a minister may be very great, though his parish is only of moderate dimensions." And in the conclusion of that letter, I added, that though no application had been made for additional means of religious instruction and superintendence within the city, it is material to keep in view that the existing means are not redundant. What I understood to be the main object of the ministers of Edinburgh, in their statements, was to shew that though they applied for no aid from Government, on the ground that the existing means, if duly husbanded, would, in the event of the disjunction of collegiate charges, and an improved distribution of parishes, suffice to provide church accommodation for the proportion of the inhabitants legally entitled to be accommodated, it was of great consequence that there should

be no reduction of the number of ministers, and, in my opinion, one of the arguments for keeping up the number, was the increased difficulty of doing the work satisfactorily, arising from what I conceive to be the impracticability of forming strictly parochial congregations. To this inconvenience and difficulty I for one have always been willing to reconcile myself, by the consideration, that when a parish is almost exclusively poor, there are advantages in maintaining a connection with persons beyond the boundaries, who may be willing to give their countenance and efficient aid to such parochial objects as the inhabitants themselves cannot be expected adequately to compass. If nothing else were to be considered than the importance of having elders, whose influence and authority would engage the respect of the people, I have ever thought that it would be a great hardship to be circumscribed within the narrow limits of such a parish as mine. And there are other reasons which, notwithstanding all that has ever been said, have weighed not only with me, but with every one with whom I have had much intercourse on these matters, in favour of a relaxation of the rigidity of a purely parochial system. The fact is, that there never was a time when a system strictly parochial could be reduced to practice in this city, though, at an early period, attempts were made to enforce it. I must own that I am not very partial to the original advocates and promoters of the measure. For about fifteen years after the Reformation, Edinburgh, then a large city, was in every sense of the word only one parish. The pastors were more numerous than is generally believed, but some of them were only temporary, and all of them exercised merely what was called a general ministry, till the year 1575, when four had each *his several quarter of the town assigned to his special charge*. The success of their ministrations even before this time was great, insomuch that, according to the testimony of the General Assembly in the year 1579, "almost in every private house the book of God's law was read and understood in our vul-

gar tongue." But soon afterwards a blight fell on the church, when the infamous Earl of Arran obtained an ascendancy over the young King, and to his other offices of high influence added that of Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1584 and 1585. Soon after he was placed in this station, the city was deprived of its fixed pastors, because they had been forced to retire, that they might escape the vengeance of the King and Arran. During their absence, the vacancies were filled by other preachers, who were not all so acceptable as the ministers of the West Kirk and of the Canongate happened to be; and then, for the first time, is there any trace of a regulation requiring all persons to attend their own parish church. An act of the Town-Council was passed 12th March 1584-5, setting forth that, in contempt of good order, certain men and women were not content to hear the ministers appointed for their instruction, but absented themselves in their houses, or passed to other kirks adjacent this burgh, and therefore ordaining that all freemen and freemen's wives should be found in their own parish kirk every Sunday, under pain of an unlaw (or fine), for the first fault a merk, for the second ten merks, for the third 100 merks, and for the fourth their bodies and goods to be at the King's will. I state this circumstance only as a proof that it was very difficult to make congregations strictly parochial, though this was the worst of all possible ways for effecting such a purpose. Soon afterwards, Mr Robert Bruce, a man of popular talents, was elected a minister. For some years he would not accept an ordinary charge, but did the duties of the general ministry. In his sermons, however, which were printed in 1591, he speaks very strongly in favour of parochial arrangements, so as to shew that, while he considered them not only advantageous but indispensable, they had not been previously established. "It is necessair," says he, "that hee wha wald do the part of ane skilful applier, he knaw the faults and diseases of his flock, quhilk is not possible to be done in this toun, *except it war divided in parishes, that every one might*

*have one reasonable number that haunted him; that he was acquainted with, and accustomed with their manners and behaviour."*

In the life of Bruce there are many highly interesting passages on this subject, which have never been published, and which illustrate the views and the practices of our forefathers at a time when they laboured under many difficulties, of which we can scarcely form a conception. This singular man was never formally admitted to a particular flock till he had been more than ten years in Edinburgh, and even then he refused to comply with the ordinary forms. At that time it seemed to be considered indispensable that every one of the four charges in the town should be collegiate, and when there was a vacancy in such a charge, "it was lamented by the congregation that the half of the quarter wanted a pastor." This complaint was made by the people of the southwest quarter September 26. 1599, at which time Mr Peter Hewat "taught only on the Sabbath, because he wanted both a fellow-labourer and a commodious place to teach in the week days." About the same time, "Mr Robert Bruce desired either to have a commodious place to teach all his flock, or else to be made free of so many as he could not have a commodious place to preach to, without the which he could not minister the Sacrament of the Supper." But this desire was not fulfilled; and neither then, nor at any other time, were the difficulties fully overcome—though at that time every one of the divisions of the town contained people in all varieties of conditions—noblemen, barons, merchants, burghesses, artisans, and labourers. The dignity and influence of a minister of the gospel did not indeed depend on the number of the great who were numbered in his flock or resident in his parish; but if his parish and congregation were nearly coincident, he stood before his people in the enviable attitude of being equally independent of the rich and the poor; and while he exhorted the poor with all authority to submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's

sake, he with equal authority charged the rich not to be high-minded, and the rulers not to oppress or despise the poor whom God hath chosen, rich in faith and heirs of the promises. Such a distinction as that of patrician and plebeian churches was then unknown. The rich and the poor were on a footing in having a right to be accommodated in their own church without paying rent; and, as I understand, they could not demand admittance elsewhere. But people at all times had different tastes, and if they were not inordinately capricious, the probability was, that every one would find among the eight ministers more than one by whom they could expect to be edified. I have good reason, however, for thinking, that they no more considered it imperative on every man to wait exclusively on the minister of the parish than to call no man a neighbour who was not resident within the parochial bounds. But a time came when attendance on the parish church was rigorously exacted, and for twelve years no individual had any more right to select his church than a man pressed into the navy has to decide whether he shall serve on board the Bellerophon or the Cæsar. That was a time of dim religious light—a time inauspicious to the liberties of the country. Charles I. at his accession, under the influence of such men as Laud and Dr Balcanquhall (whose counsels afterwards led him to the measures which ultimately deprived him of his power and his life), framed an ecclesiastical constitution for the City of Edinburgh, conformable to the views of his father, the first article of which contained a peremptory order for the revival, in the strictest form, of that order of parochial congregations which had formerly been in some measure established, but had soon been discontinued. It would be tedious to trace the modifications which it afterwards underwent in the time of the Covenanters. There is no doubt that it was in use after the Revolution, and that it sometimes occasioned a good deal of murmuring among people of different stations. Traces of this may be seen in the printed biographies of several persons in humble life: Elizabeth



West, in her Memoirs, speaks of her moving from the ministrations of Mr Meldrum in the Tron Kirk parish to those of Mr Moncreiff in the College Kirk, as being for some time "like a second death;" and, though she was only a domestic servant, "for a space she would not go to her parish kirk." This was in 1695. Similar passages occur in the Experiences of John Ronald, Lorimer in Edinburgh, born in 1694. But, from the time when the principles of the Secession began to prevail, about an hundred years ago, it was found that any attempt to insist on people attending their own parish churches would have been withstood by a large proportion of the people; and I am not so sanguine as to expect that either by visitations confined to certain bounds, or by any other device, is the practice ever likely to be restored to the extent in which it formerly prevailed. The extra parochial character of the congregations was greatly increased during the twenty years which elapsed between the commencement of the building of the New Town and the opening of St Andrew's Church in 1787; and the inexcusable procrastination which postponed the building of St George's Church nearly thirty years longer threw many people out of the Establishment altogether, while it also unchurched the poor of the Old Town, in consequence of the demand for seats by the inhabitants of the New Town. Dr Chalmers speaks of the glorious experiences of certain churches; and, among the rest, of the Dean and St Leonard's churches in Edinburgh, as if they demonstrated the efficiency of the parochial system even in the poorest districts of the largest towns in Scotland. Now, I would be loath to throw the smallest shade of discredit on any such experiments, for I cordially wish them to succeed; and the more parochial such of these congregations as I know any thing of shall become, the more will I rejoice. But when I am taunted "as a precipitate adventurer, who has rushed unbidden into a field on which, to me a *terra incognita*, a land of bewilderment and darkness, I ought never to have entered," I must take leave to say, that,

notwithstanding the sneers and the despitful usage which Dr Chalmers is so much at home in dealing out, as if the vocabulary of invective and contumely were more familiar to him than the words of truth and soberness. I have been neither an inattentive nor a jealous observer of the Dean church; and as the circumstances of that district are altogether dissimilar to those of the Old Town parishes, its unbounded success would be no proof that the same system was in nearly an equal degree applicable to a parish like mine. From very early times the Dean, the Water of Leith, and Bell's Mills, which contain the poorest part of the population of the parish now called the Dean, were rural villages. They are so still. They are occupied chiefly by people employed at the mills, the gardens, the distilleries, the stone-quarries, and other works in the neighbourhood, and in a considerable degree by people who feed swine. There are poor people there; but few so wretchedly poor as in the closes in the town. They have generally permanent occupations almost on the spot, and they are separated from the town by landmarks as distinct as are to be found in any rural parish. But besides a number of respectable country houses which have been taken into the district, (some of them annexed from the parishes of Cramond and Corstorphine), and such places as Comely Bank, a street inhabited by about twenty genteel families whose names are in the Directory, the parish has enlarged its coasts in the direction of the town, so as to come in contact with Melville Street, and to comprehend not poor families there, but the wealthy inhabitants of Lynedoch Place, whose united house-rents I am confident must amount to double the sum paid for all the dwelling-houses in the densely-peopled closes in the Old Church parish. I do not think I am acquainted with one country parish which contains so many wealthy people, and if all the people of superior condition within the bounds were to attend with their families at the Dean Church, they would fill nearly a third of the area which remains after the hospitals are

accommodated. It may indeed be apprehended, that as many of such families have been taken in, and so much ground is likely to be soon built upon, that, unless due precautions be used, there will be a risk of the poor being jostled out of their places in this new church, as they have been in many of the city churches. Of the degree in which this church has fulfilled the expectations of those who contributed to its erection, I do not consider the time past as affording a sufficient criterion. If it were not to succeed, I would not be the first to proclaim its failure. But I maintain that it is not a church appropriated exclusively to the wants of the poor district in its vicinity. It is built, not as it might have been, in the heart of the poor population, but in a situation fitted to attract a miscellaneous congregation, and it is said to be let in a considerable degree to rich people, some of whom live beyond the bounds. I am not quarrelling with it in this respect. I account it, for this very reason, much more likely to succeed than if it had been constituted on the principle of supplying the poor alone.

It is next asserted, that in telling our rulers that a strict parochial system is in some respects not desirable, I tell them that in so far it is unworthy of being paid for by the State; and thus I have furnished them with a pretence to justify their refusal of our claims. A more unreasonable charge could not have been brought. I spoke not of any situation for which a claim for an endowment has been, or is to be, made. I spoke only of the city of Edinburgh, in behalf of which all the ministers had resolved that no application for aid should be presented. Till this moment Edinburgh has been held by the ministers to be only one parish. It has not in the memory of man been ever held to be essential that congregations should be strictly parochial. No person has hitherto maintained that the reasonableness of the endowment in Edinburgh is suspended entirely on the circumstance of having congregations strictly parochial. Look back a hundred years, and you will not find that it has even been

the general practice to choose elders resident in the particular districts called parishes, or that the people have been given to understand that, though they paid into a general fund for all the ministers, they were to be restricted to the ministry of only one. And is it therefore to be concluded that "no good has been done," and that the endowment has been thrown away on the Erskines and Walkers, the Robertsons and Blairs, the Cummings and Dicks, of the last century? If I am a heretic, these men were heretics, and many more than these. The venerated and almost canonized names of men who have only recently departed, are embalmed in our memories; and are we now to be taught to abhor and despise them (even as my name is held up to contempt and execration), because they were either so weak as not to understand, or so wicked as not to act upon, what is declared to be the only system which can be brought to bear with full adaptation and influence on the humbler classes of society? On the humbler classes! And is there, then, to be an immunity extended to the rich, while the poor alone are to be restrained from the liberty of placing themselves under the inspection of whatever ministers they may prefer? It cannot be that any one would impose such a restraint as this. But as far as the arrangement can be effected, consistently with the other conditions of a well-ordered congregation, no one is more sensible of the convenience and utility of it than I am, and I have tried as much as I can to follow it out. I cannot conceive that it ever could have entered into the contemplation of any Government, that if a case of necessity were made out, the grant should be made on any other understanding than that the application of it should be subject to such regulations as the Church itself might establish, so as to render the means as available as possible to the accomplishment of the end.

In p. 14, Dr Chalmers professes to give a second quotation from my evidence. He says I was asked, If the parochial work would be better done by ministers than mission-

aries? And that I answered, "Yes, but that it is not possible in this way to carry it to a great extent." Now, though this had been the whole amount of what I said, I do not perceive that it ought to be regarded in any other light than a testimony in favour of parishes of very moderate extent. But in reality, the previous question, as well as that which was thus put to me, did not relate to any other work than such as is performed by missionaries. I proceeded on the belief that the question referred to such parishes as we have in Edinburgh at the present time, and while I considered ministers as the fittest instruments for all the duties by which either the wanderers can be reclaimed or the weak established, I held that the other avocations of every minister are so numerous and occupy so much time, that he cannot labour so constantly or so extensively in that particular sphere of duty, as those who act merely as missionaries. I did not deny that this is a highly important branch of ministerial labour, and though I have never attempted to magnify the labours in this department which I have endeavoured to perform, I believe I have been as rarely absent from my post as any other minister in this city. But sensible as I am that much more might have been done in this way than I have ever accomplished, I am equally sensible that other parts of duty, inadequately performed as they have been, would have been overtaken to a still smaller extent, if I had employed a much greater proportion of time in the bodily exercise of visiting. From what I know of the mode of life followed by the reformers, I am quite certain that it was not chiefly by the perambulation of their parishes that they had the happiness of making so many converts. They had week-day sermons, and week-day catechising in the churches. They had weekly meetings of the Exercise or Presbytery. And as the scene of their labours was very extensive, and their avocations multifarious, they could not possibly have had very frequent intercourse with the several families. But if they could have commanded leisure, and if they could have found the people generally at

home, it is not to be questioned that great benefit might have been derived from such ministration. On this subject I expected no questions; but my views concerning it may be learned from the answers to the three questions following that which has been quoted, in which I stated that it is in some measure indispensable that every minister should have a separate district, to which, though he may not be altogether confined, it is desirable that his attention should be chiefly devoted; but that it is found impracticable now to form the same sort of congregations from the old town as every division of it could formerly supply. And I explained what I meant by saying that it is almost impracticable for one minister to accomplish satisfactorily the visitation of a district, by referring to the variety and importance of other professional duties, and particularly the charge of education, not only in the parish, but out of it. I spoke of the numerous institutions to which much time must be given, unless ministers devolve the care of them entirely on laymen; and then I stated how difficult it is for a minister so to distribute his time as to make the labour of visiting convenient not only for himself but for people who are not to be found at home during the day. I say still, that it is not practicable to carry it in this way to a great extent; and when I went the length of saying that almost a single close or lane would occupy any man's attention in some parts of my parish, and still justice could not be done to the people, I felt that I was not overrating the difficulties of the task; and thus I was expounding almost superfluously the true meaning of the expression for which I am so unmercifully condemned, "that it is not possible for a minister to carry the work of visitation to a great extent"—an expression which was applied by me to a minister having a charge, such as my own, in the city of Edinburgh; for I was not speaking on the general question, but on the peculiarities of a station of which I must be allowed to have some experience. The original question which led to the discussion was

this, "Would the extension of the Missionary system alone, supply the deficiency in the Old Parish?" to which my answer had been, "I do not think so;" understanding the question to refer to the Old Church Parish, which had for two hundred years been a collegiate charge, and which was about to become a single one. When I spoke of a single close being almost enough for one man, I was conscious that I was uttering no extravagance; or if I had been exaggerating, I must have been compelled to admit that many ministers of parishes with which I am well acquainted have sinecure offices. In one of my former presbyteries, Wester Anstruther, contains 480 inhabitants, and Denino 388. Two of my closes contain as many as these two parishes. In Cupar Presbytery, Dunbog is said to contain 197, and Moonzie 188. In the Presbytery of Peebles, Manor contains 254 and Lyne and Megget 156. Here are six parishes, the united population of which does not exceed the population of six closes in my parish, and I have never heard that any of the ministers complained that they had too little to do. There are smaller parishes in Scotland than any of these, as in the Presbytery of Dunee, St Bathans 124, and Cranahaws, which the minister states at only 100 in 1833. There are nearly as many people in one building in the Covenant Close, six stories high, as in both parishes; and if any one who does not know their condition would only look at them for a single hour, he would require no argument to convince him that the attentions due to such a condensed mass must occasion far more anxiety, painfulness, and watching, than all which can be required of him who tends a flock of ninety and nine on the mountains of Lammermuir.

But, once more, as to the difficulty or rather impracticability of carrying the labour of visitation to a great extent by a minister of Edinburgh, who has so much else to do, let me just refer to what was said by Dr Chalmers himself, in the evidence which he delivered on the 20th of February, two days after I used the words which he has so laboriously

and uncandidly misinterpreted. Being asked, if in city parishes of proper size, the services of a Missionary might be dispensed with, he answered, "If properly constituted, the services of a missionary might not be so much called for; but I do not know any parish that would not be greatly the better for the labours of a parish missionary. So far as my experience goes, the most devoted of our parish missionaries are under the most fearful sense of the magnitude of their work, and desiderate a small charge. Give me a devoted missionary and he will be an advocate for 500; give me a devoted minister and he would rather have a parish of 1000 than 2000. It is a difficult question to say where we should stop in subdividing the process of ministerial work." This is not substantially different from what I had previously said.

On this matter I farther expressed a conviction which occurred to me at the moment, that 2000 people in such a part of the Old Town as I am connected with, require more labour than 7000 or 8000 in the New Town. I was mentally contrasting my own parish with St George's, a number of the poorest people in which parish I had visited occasionally during the absence of Mr Martin and the subsequent vacancy, and I strongly felt that there was a vast difference in their general character and condition, though I am well aware that there are other difficulties in such a parish as St George's, from which I am exempted. I know that I have been reflected on as having acted inconsistently in voting afterwards for eight ministers in the New Town, and only ten in the old. But this vote implied no inconsistency of which I am aware. There never have been more than nine churches in the Old Town, and the addition of a tenth (considering there are only seven at present), would be as great a change for the better, as there is the slightest probability of being realised. The present population of the Old Town, by the accounts given by the ministers last year to the Commission, is about 24,000. It is not to be expected that a greater number of churches will be built than will suffice for the ac-



commodation of the inhabitants of the Old Town; and according to my calculation, three in addition to the present seven, would be considered as producing adequate accommodation.\* There is no doubt that the New Town is increasing in numbers rapidly, and that the original extended royalty is now crowded with the same description of people who peopled the Old Town about the beginning of this century. The present population of the New Town is at least 27,428, and the church accommodation is 5750. Double this accommodation would not be nearly enough, nor would larger churches than will accommodate 1500 be desirable; and when it comes to be a question in what manner a definite number of ministers may be most advantageously distributed, I cannot see that the proportion of seven to the New Town, and eleven to the Old Town, is more reasonable on the whole than that of eight to the former, and ten to the latter. The question, I own, is attended with difficulties, but if this were the proper place for enlarging on it, I could easily state considerations which abundantly justify that decision of the Presbytery, in which I concurred.

A third attack on me by Dr Chalmers proceeds on this ground. I was asked (he says, p. 14), Would not the minister be in better circumstances if he could ask them to come to his own church? and the reply is said to have been, It is natural to suppose so, but a minister must feel great delicacy in asking people to attend his own church; and it is then added, that I said, that at present there is a great prejudice against the attempt to make proselytes. Dr Chalmers attempts to represent what I said as an excuse for a minister declining to make an inroad on the wretched profligacy and ignorance of his parishioners. There can scarcely be any misrepresentation greater than this; what I said is not fairly told, and while I spoke of one thing, I have been accused of having another in view. When I was asked would the mi-

\* The average number of inhabitants for each parish would be 2,400. The number which Dr Chalmers proposed to include in the district of a plebeian church in the Cowgate was 2,500.

minister have more in his power, if he were able to say to those whom he visits, "Come to your own church?" I answered, "One would naturally think so, but a minister feels great delicacy in inviting people to his own church, *when so many others are equally accessible which they might prefer*;" and I added, that, in coming into contact with people of any other denomination, a minister giving such a hint would be apt to awaken their prejudices. I never for an instant imagined the question to have a special application to the case of persons sunk in ignorance and vice. Some of the previous questions had related to the advantage of working by districts, as well as having parochial congregations; and I most distinctly remember that what passed through my mind in giving this answer was, With what grace could I ask people who prefer the Tron Church, or the High Church, or the Tolbooth Church to come to mine, which is not more accessible? or could I be sure of doing good if, from the zeal of making proselytes from the Seceders or the Relief or the Independents, I were to say to the hearers of Dr Peddie, Mr Johnston, Mr French, or Mr Alexander, It will be better for you to come to me than to continue with the pastors by whom you have already been edified and comforted, and whose ministrations are as much within your reach as mine? On the subject of proselytism, I would remind Dr Chalmers of a question which was put to him in May 1880, concerning a compromise which he had made with a Roman Catholic clergyman as to the reading of the Bible in a Roman Catholic school in St John's Parish, Glasgow,—"*Do you consider that the success of that experiment was owing wholly, or in any degree, to their reliance upon the absence of any indirect object on your part, or any attempt to interfere with the religious faith of the Roman Catholic children in the way of proselytism?*"—to which he answered, "*Had they suspected any sort of attempt that was obnoxious to their feelings, they of course would not have sent their children to the school.*" Dr Chalmers can take credit to himself for avoiding to awaken the suspicion of attempting to make proselytes, but it seems

I must not hint at any such caution without being charged with treachery or hostility to the cause of truth. There is a leaven of malice in the mode in which my obvious meaning is wrested in the paragraph to which I refer, on which I cannot think without commiseration, and I let it pass without farther remark.

Dr Chalmers next assails me (p. 15.) because, when asked if people invited to church did not say that they had no sittings, I said, "that is not *in fact* the true cause." The words which I used were, "that is not *at present* the true cause—a great many might find sittings, even without paying for them; and sittings are to be had in various churches at a low rate; *but they are not certainly adequate to the supply of any parish.*" Dr Chalmers may comment on it as he pleases. The answer is literally true. I had stated, both in my returns and verbally, that I laboured under a great disadvantage in having no church, and only a temporary place of worship, cold, uncomfortable, and ill adapted for hearing; but I did what I could to provide accommodation for all who chose to avail themselves of it. But it was truly mortifying to find that the want of sittings was not the true cause why so many absented themselves; and, knowing the fact, I did not feel it to be my duty to practise any mental reservation, and much less to give an affirmative answer when it was only in the negative that I could answer truly.

I am next blamed (p. 15.) for having spoken of the establishment of a better system of education as the most promising way of enticing people to attend church; and this suggestion is said to have a tendency to justify the Government if they were to refuse churches, but to give schools; and, of course, I am denounced for doing what I can to countenance the reigning policy of the times. To that policy I have always been more decidedly opposed than I have ever understood Dr Chalmers to be. The mode in which I wished, a few years ago, to prevail on the Presbytery to express an opinion on the system of Irish education, embodied (as I thought) a more express and unambiguous dis-

approbation of the principle of excluding the use of the Scriptures than that which Dr Chalmers proposed. I know very well that it was chiefly by the rule of having the Bible read and the Catechism taught in their schools, that the Reformers in Scotland so rapidly brought the people to that state of knowledge and practice which distinguished them so much above other nations ; and I have often said in public, that if our Reformers had acted on the principle adopted in the Irish schools, my conviction is, that Scotland at this day would have been in a condition not more enlightened than Ireland. I have never signified my readiness to go into any such compromise as Dr Chalmers recommended. I do not by any means think, as he did in 1830, that the difference between the authorized and Douay version of the Bible "is not so great as to make it a thing of practical importance which should be used, though in point of decorum and good taste, it were better that the school Bible should be our authorized version." I decidedly think that the difference is vital and extreme. The difference between the spiritual grace of *repentance* and the bodily exercise of *doing penance*, is very essential ; and the difference between the reading of a Bible without note or comment, and one which has notes appended to it representing Protestants as accursed, and their version of the Bible as a false and blasphemous interpretation of God's holy word, has always appeared to me most serious. Nor, with all my alleged tendency to use such words as *scarcely*, would I have replied as Dr Chalmers did to this question relating to schools in Scotland, "Does religious instruction form part of the education?" "I *would scarcely say* that religious instruction in a formal or separate way formed part of our school education, but that a religious influence is secured in schools, because the Bible is generally a class-book, and the national Catechism is also taught." I conceive that the primary object contemplated by the original founders of our schools, was to give religious instruction to the people and to prepare them for the profitable hearing

of the word of salvation. And on this principle, at the suggestion of the Reformers, the Parliament of Scotland in 1567 provided for the bringing up of the youth in the fear of God, as "it is tinsel baith of their bodies and saules gif God's word be not rooted in them." I was led to speak of an improved system of education in consequence of a question relating to a preaching station to which I had been able to bring a greater number of children than adults, and I found that from want of due knowledge of the Scriptures they could take comparatively a small interest in the plainest and most serious truths delivered in the words of Scripture. They were as much at a loss from their ignorance of the very language of the Bible, as they would have been if they had been left alone in a foreign land without knowing a word of any other than their native tongue. I found (as I stated to the Commissioners) that parents professing to be Protestants had sent their children to Roman Catholic schools, where the Scriptures were not read, and where the Roman Catholic Catechism was taught. The consequence of such a practice, if generally adopted, would have been to lead away the children of the poor from Protestant ministrations. I was therefore at considerable pains to provide for the due instruction of such children, and I had no intention of soliciting aid either from the Government or from any other quarter. I was, at my own expense, endeavouring to constitute a school on the old fashioned system, the discontinuance of which system has, in my opinion, done great evil, and this school it was my purpose to connect with a preaching station. Thus it was that I was led to speak of schools; and I may add, that such a schoolmaster as I employ (an advanced student of divinity), is likely to prove soon a useful missionary, and thus to attract both parents and children to the house of God. Let me ask, too, on what principle the General Assembly's scheme of India Missions has been formed, if it be not that a good system of education is the best mode of inviting people to attend to the services of religion?

A sixth instance of my unsoundness is contained in the 16th page of Dr Chalmers's pamphlet. "I did not think it desirable that a minister should be relieved of his extra-parochial work." I would have much to say on this topic, but I content myself with referring to my entire answer, as it is contained in the 9th and 10th pages of my evidence in the Appendix, where I assign some of the reasons for thinking that a minister of a poor parish may have his heart encouraged and his hands strengthened by cultivating intercourse with a greater variety of persons than are to be found within the bounds to which his chief attention is required.

It is next said by Dr Chalmers (p. 16.) that another question was, "Would you rely altogether on an improved system of education?" This is not a full or correct statement of the question, which was, "In speaking of the improved system of education, would you rely on it alone, *in addition to the existing means*, as sufficient to reclaim to religious habits?" Now it would not have been very presumptuous, if I had said that I think, *in addition to the existing means* (including the preaching of the word and other pastoral duties, which Dr Chalmers has chosen to leave out of the question, thereby making me appear to hesitate with regard to the insufficiency of mere education), a better system of education may be expected to go a great way in reclaiming the careless and the erring. But the answer which I actually gave is curtailed so as not to bring out my meaning. Instead of saying merely as he asserts, "*I scarcely would*, but am rather of opinion that if a good method of education had been instituted, the people would not have relapsed into their present and prevalent state of ignorance," the words which I used were these, "*I scarcely would in the present circumstances* (meaning that in more favourable circumstances more could scarcely be required), but (I think) if it had not been that the system of education has been long inadequate, neither systematically conducted, nor extensive enough to supply the wants of the whole community, I rather

think that the people would not have fallen into that state of ignorance and indifference which is so prevalent ; *and if a good system were revived and kept up, it would contribute more than any thing else to the formation of the habits of attending the church, and the observance of religious duties.*"

Now this unpremeditated sentence, somewhat diffusely and even confusedly expressed, if it be a truism, is, I fear, one of those plain truths which are greatly neglected in practice. I do not retract the answer, though I wish I had amplified it a little more. The views which I have long maintained on this matter are entirely conformable to those of John Knox and the other framers of the First Book of Discipline. Of that invaluable book, the subject of education forms about a sixth part ; so anxious were our Reformers to diffuse the principles of sound knowledge, as the means of perpetuating the influence of pure religion. " Seeing (said they) that the office of the godly magistrate is not only to purge the church of God from all superstition, and to set it at liberty from bondage, but also to provide to the utmost of his power how it may abide in the same purity in the posterity following; we cannot but freely communicate our judgment in this behalf." They then proceeded to shew the necessity of schools, that the youth may have knowledge and erudition, to profit and comfort the church ; and judging it a matter of necessity that every parish should have a schoolmaster, they required particularly that the children and youth should be especially instructed in the Catechism translated in the Book of Common Order. 'This was Calvin's Catechism, a very copious and valuable exposition of revealed truth. The children were to be examined on this system in the church, not only for their own benefit, but for the instruction of the aged ; and the minister, who took charge of this exercise, was required to be at great pains to explain to the whole congregation the questions proposed, and the doctrines involved in the answers. This practice, which was attended with great benefit to people at every period of life, in the

early time of our church, was afterwards superseded by the plan universally followed at a somewhat later period, of what was called preaching catechetical doctrine, or giving a course of sermons arranged in the order of the Catechism, a less familiar and probably less advantageous mode of instruction than that strictly catechetical process which gave rise to it. It was on account of the intimate connection between the church and the schools, that the Reformers recommended that the teachers of youth should be supported by the ecclesiastical revenues; and if their views had been adopted, a great proportion of the rents of bishoprics, and the other patrimony of the church, would have been dedicated to the support of education. These views continued to be pressed on the legislature in the Second Book of Discipline, approved by the General Assembly, and engrossed in the Records in 1581. It is there said (chap. 9.), that "the schools and schoolmasters ought and could be well sustained of the patrimony of the kirk, and are comprehended under the clergy." If, then, the earliest ministers of the church, when they received a charge from the great Council of Scotland, in April 1560, commanding them to commit to writing "their judgments touching the reformation of religion, which in this realm, as in others, had been utterly corrupted," considered it to be their duty to embody in their answer a strong recommendation in favour of the establishment of schools "for the godly upbringing of the youth, and the advancement of Christ's glory," how is it that I am charged with introducing an irrelevant topic, when, in the enumeration of the causes of our declension in religious practice, I was led incidentally, and I think too transiently, to advert to the importance of reviving and strengthening institutions which had fallen into neglect.

Perhaps it may be regarded as a foible, but I have long been accustomed to regret that the connection between the church and the seminaries of education of every rank is not so close as it was formerly. It seems now to be very generally considered as a disqualification for the obscure, but



truly honourable as well as most useful, occupation of a parochial schoolmaster, that he should have any views to the church as his ultimate profession. This is an idea which I have always opposed. The race of schoolmasters was never so respectable or efficient, as when most of them were preachers of the Gospel, or students of divinity; and the youth were never so well instructed, as when their teachers considered themselves, not as being permanently doomed to a severe and uninteresting drudgery, but as being entitled to look up to the first preferments in the church. I could mention some of the greatest of our divines who rose from this station to the chief places in the church and the universities; and it would be better, both for religion and for learning, if these times were to recur, so that every minister might consider the schoolmaster of his parish rather in the light of a younger brother, who might soon, by the diligent exertion of his talents, ascend to an equality with himself, than as an inferior, whose spirit must be depressed by the hard necessity of resigning himself to a situation which would not be felt to be degrading, if it did not almost preclude the hope of advancement. Of all the employments in an enlightened age, none is more important than that of the teachers of youth; and perhaps in a much greater degree than any of the rest, that of those who, being stationed either in rural districts, or in the obscurest recesses of overgrown cities, not only instruct the labouring classes in the first principles of sound wisdom, but generally have the merit of bringing to light those young men of genius and industry, to whom the greatest improvements in literature and science often owe their birth, and from whom the higher ranks are, in very many cases, content to receive the principal part of their tuition. That such men receive so little encouragement, is a reproach to the present age, and an unfavourable omen of the progress of civilization.

While I say all this, I cannot conclude without repelling, not with scorn but with compassion, the unfounded insinua-

tion that I ever said a word which could countenance a design of adopting "an improved system of education, as the alone specific, (of the Legislature) for the moral regeneration of our land." I was not asked, as Dr Chalmers artfully and disingenuously objects, if I would rely *altogether* on an improved system of education; but if I would rely on this alone, *in addition to the existing means*, and whatever I might have said, if the degeneracy had not been so great, I answered in substance, that in the present circumstances I scarcely would; but that the revival of a good system would contribute more than anything else to the formation of the habits of attending the church, and the observance of religious duties; and by this answer, with all its imperfections, I am willing to stand or fall.

And now comes the last question to which Dr Chalmers adverts, and it is this; Have you any other observation? And to this question he says I answered, as my only observation, that the progress of the people's degeneracy is very much owing to a wrong state of the law in regard to the use of spirituous liquors. He then derides me as having set forth a specific of my own for the moral amelioration of the people, substituting a tax on whisky for the endowment of new churches.

The force of misrepresentation could not easily go further than this. The queries of the Commissioners issued in print had related particularly to the condition and circumstances of the people; and the parole evidence had related very much to the same subject. Inquiries had also been made with respect to the true reason of the non-attendance at church, and other prevalent defections. I, therefore, very naturally stated that the progress of ignorance and depravity of late years had arisen very much from some defect in the law with regard to the use of spirituous liquor. I referred, not merely to the effect of lowering the duty in 1823, but the more recent relaxation in regard to the shutting of public-houses on the Sabbath. To these causes I ascribed much of the present

wretched condition of the poor. To these causes I might have traced not only the want of clothing, but the neglect of the education of their children and many other evils. I might have stated that the money which is spent on intoxicating liquors, even in a poor parish like mine, is probably more than would pay all the sittings, extravagant as they are, in any church in the town. But this was not what I had in my mind. I thought chiefly on the facility which is given by the present law to such a supply of the means of intoxication on the Sabbath, as attracts vast numbers of inconsiderate people into taverns, where they spend a large proportion of their weekly earnings on the Lord's day, and whence they issue in a state of worse than brutal ferocity, to the terror of their own families, and to the inexpressible disgust and sorrow of all persons of good principle and correct habits. It is melancholy to think how many who never enter the house of prayer, on the pretence that they cannot go because they have not decent apparel, find their way into those tabernacles of wickedness, in which they go to excess of riot and make a mock at sin, and become thoroughly furnished to every evil work. Knowing what I do know of the havoc and ruin suffered by immortal souls, in consequence of frequenting such synagogues of Satan, I considered it as no wandering from the subject to represent to a body of men employed to report to the Government and the Legislature on the means of promoting the religious improvement of the people, that the evil springing from intemperance is one which loudly calls for a remedy, and that the benefits to be expected from building and endowing an adequate church for every thousand people in a town would in a great measure be counteracted, if, in every poor parish having accommodation in one church for a thousand people, there shall still be found at all hours except church hours (and probably then also) not one or two, but a very great number of the vile haunts of debauchery, licensed by the Government to deal out from morning to night a poison deleterious not only to the body:

but to the soul. The unutterable grief with which I have witnessed the miseries arising from this source, particularly during the last fourteen years, might plead my apology for uttering five or six short sentences on it, even though it had been a digression from the line of inquiry. But it was not so. The erection of churches and the provisions for ministers will not of themselves build up the people in the faith of the Gospel; and that Government does not faithfully perform its duty, which is not a terror to evil doers as well as a praise to them that do well. If I may again be suffered to refer to the practices of former times, I would here say in conclusion, that no part of the discipline of our church, for several generations, was considered more essential than that which was intended to restrain, not only by ecclesiastical censures, but by legislative enactments, all such disorders as led to the profanation of the Sabbath, and above all others, the frequenting of taverns and the abominable indulgence of drunkenness. Perhaps Dr Chalmers may scoff at a reference to what he will probably call the record of ancient follies.\* Let him rail on. Nevertheless the judgment of God is, according to truth, against them which commit

\* I remember an occasion in which Dr Chalmers, speaking of the creeds and constitutions of bygone times, as having no influence on the actual generation (a state of things which he evidently regarded as matter of congratulation), proceeded to say, "Yet I can image to myself an antiquarian, a resurrectionist of old parchments, conjuring up from the deep oblivion of ages those shades of departed folly, and telling us, because they have never been rescinded by any competent or authorized court, that we must still watch and tremble, and be on our guard because of them." If this was meant for me, as it was understood to be, I had alluded to no ancient constitutions, but those which are contained in the Old and New Testament, the Confession of Faith, the National Covenant, and the Act of Union; and though Dr Chalmers chose to hold me up to mockery by attempting to fasten on me a most loathsome and vulgar nickname, formed in profane allusion to the mystery of the resurrection, I did not feel so much hurt by the malignant glee with which he outraged the feelings of one who by recent domestic losses had been so often called to the grave to weep there, as by the contempt which he poured on the memories of the best benefactors of the human race.

such things; and whether in season or out of season, I will continue to protest against an iniquity which, instead of being established by law, ought to be punished by the judge.

But let me now come to the observation which he says stamps a character on the whole enterprise; an observation which he has most unfairly curtailed, so as to make it bear a meaning quite different from that which I obviously wished to convey. "He told you that he had no favourite theory to support (meaning I believe the theory of the parochial system, which he had before denounced as chimerical, and of course the theory of Church Extension as being identified therewith), that he did not agree with *his brethren*, but that he did not like to come into collision with them, although their views were different from his own. These may not be the words, but they contain the very substance of his declaration," &c. Dr Chalmers knew that these were not all the words, and he knew that the impression made by the whole words would on some minds at least been different from that which he intended to make. He proceeds to say that the differences which I would not tell my brethren, I poured into the ears of the Government Commissioners; and again and again he asserts that my evidence is a hostile evidence, and most injurious to the cause of Church Extension. He then gives an account of what he calls the getting up of that evidence, which is altogether an invention; and if it were worth while I could prove how erroneous he is in all the details which he has so unhesitatingly published.

The declaration to which Dr Chalmers refers, was not made on the 18th of February, when the evidence already animadverted on was given, but on the 19th of March. Let it be remembered that, on the 20th of February, Dr Chalmers, alluding, as I believed, to part of my evidence on the 18th, had said that the great fluctuation of the population in towns "is altogether a mistake." He said nothing struck him more in Glasgow, than to observe how much less fluctuating is the population of a city parish, than that of a country pa-

rish. "The great appearance of furniture carts in a town, (he said) gives a superficial observer the idea that the whole town is in motion; but, in point of fact, the change amounts to a very small fraction of the population. For example, in the Water of Leith there are 334 families, and we had only eight new families at the last term. It is of importance to observe, that the very families that come this year, will very probably be the families that go out next year." He afterwards owned that he did not know the extent of changes by removals in any other district than the Water of Leith, but he said, "I speak from experience, when I say that the changes are much fewer than people generally imagine." He proceeded to say, that the advantage of having wealthier persons in a congregation would not be any loss in any district in large cities. "You will find a gradation of rank and wealth in all places, even in those places where the population is generally imagined to be out-and-out in a state of helpless wretchedness and poverty. I know magnates both in the Cowgate and in the Water of Leith. You will find parochial grandees every where." Hearing these declarations, I could not but feel that they were completely at variance with my experience, and believing, as I still do, that Dr Chalmers had never nearly so much personal intercourse with the poor as I have had, I was not disposed to allow my testimony to be contradicted. I had known the best half of the Cowgate for twelve years, and I had never known in it one man whom it would not have been superlatively ridiculous to call a parochial grandee. I may now say very plainly, that I did not like the idea of throwing a parish so poor as mine entirely on its own internal resources, in respect to the provision for the poor, which I believed to be one of Dr Chalmers's objects in connection with the scheme which he labours to enforce without any modification, though I was not then aware that, in his letter to Lord Minto (31st July 1835, printed at p. 263 of the Report), he had adverted to the connection between the economic state of the

people and the state of their moral and Christian education, and the effect which a thorough subdivision of parishes, and the adoption of a proper system in regard to the poor, must produce in doing away a compulsory provision. I did not then anticipate the ridicule and abuse which were to be poured on me for speaking of education, or of pauperism, or of drunkenness, one of the chief causes of the ignorance, carelessness, poverty, and crime, which so lamentably abound. But having a full assurance of the reality of the facts of which I had been an eye-witness, I did certainly apply for an opportunity of being farther heard, not merely on these facts, but other matters. In the mean time, more than one individual said to me that it was a pity we should not all say the same thing. I thought it a pity too, but I was in a condition, in which I must either submit to have my testimony overthrown, or else I must vindicate the accuracy of my statements. In answer to Query 6, as to the occupations and means of subsistence of the population, I had said, "The population is in general very poor. There are a few respectably employed trades-people, chiefly in the houses adjoining the High Street, Hunter Square, and Blair Street; but many have no certain income, or apparent means of supporting themselves, and a vast proportion of the families not having nearly 10s. a-week. In the closes many of them are weekly tenants, at 6d., 7d., 8d., and 1s. per week, and many are said by their landlords seldom to pay with any regularity. Some have no beds, or almost any furniture, and their clothing is wretched in the extreme." I added, that the 6th query, which is peculiarly important, had attracted a great share of my attention; but though I had collected much information, it is not easy to give the result in a short compass, and the inquiries are far from being completed. All this I had said without dreaming that I was to be contradicted. I had not spontaneously offered any information with regard to fluctuations. But when asked if I found that the families frequently change their residence and go beyond

the parish, I answered affirmatively, and stated a few particulars (as may be seen in my evidence, pp. 6 and 7). I afterwards stated that the constant fluctuation occasioned a difficulty in the accomplishment of parochial duty, greater perhaps than any other; and I stated this chiefly as a reason for assigning moderate boundaries to the sphere of ministerial labour. I have been accused of betaking myself for a month to the task of collecting facts for the purpose of contradicting the statements of another.\* If I had gone round the parish again for the purpose of being more fully satisfied, there would have been no evil in it, and I might have thus found opportunities of doing good. But it is not the fact that I did so. Mr Bruce and Mr Waddell say that they saw me on my way. They do not seem to keep any journal, for they cannot tell when this happened; but I can tell them that I was that day on my way to visit a poor dying man named Charles Macpherson, who lodged in my former parish, (in the College Wynd), with a Roman Catholic family, by whose considerate kindness I had been invited to see him. And the visits which I paid to my present parish in the interval between the 18th of February and the 18th of March, were all pastoral, though in the course of them I had easy opportunities of finding additional proofs of the accuracy of my statements. My second examination was fixed for the 17th of March. I went there at the appointed hour, and found an examination going on. Mr Cunningham seems to allege that I was disconcerted by

\* Mr Cunningham says that this is expressly admitted by Mr Bell. If Mr Bell admitted it, he must have done so through misapprehension. Mr Bell saw me once in the interval between the publication of Dr C.'s pamphlet and his own, but received no notes from me. He very naturally mistook the period of my second survey of part of the parish; but he did not mistake one of the chief objects of it. The Dissenters outran us in our survey, and I had almost finished the first when I discovered this. I therefore went back to the places which had been surveyed in my absence or when I was only occasionally present, that I might be quite sure of the numbers, condition, &c. of the whole people.



meeting him there, and if I understand him rightly, he wishes it to be inferred that his presence scared me away. I remember very distinctly that, after waiting a long time, while Mr M'Laren's examination was going on (which lasted from ten in the forenoon till past six in the evening), I made inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining if I could be received next day, as I could not remain much longer, and I went away accordingly, though with much regret, as I wished to hear Mr M'Laren's evidence, to some parts of which I adverted next day—not certainly for the purpose of corroborating it. Next day I read a paper, which occupies two pages of the evidence appended to the report (from p. 339 to p. 341), and which fills about four pages of the appendix to this pamphlet, from p. 11 to the top of p. 15), ending with the word "destitution." The subsequent paragraphs were not fully written out, but I had notes of the particulars, and I perceive that some of the expressions reported are less precise than they would otherwise have been if I had ever revised the manuscript report. I think the whole of my statement (which is said by Dr Chalmers to have been so long, and to have come after a questionnaire process of two days) did not take up half an hour; and there was no questionnaire process on the part of the Commissioners either before or after. Mr M'Laren asked two questions in reference to some notice which I had taken of the survey by the Dissenters. Mr Cunningham asked two or three relating to removals, and Mr Johnston two relating to removals in the New North Church Parish; and having answered these, I resolved to give a more circumstantial account of the matter next day. Accordingly, next day, I gave in a note of the result of my examination of the changes accounted for in the Surveyor's Book, as far as I had found leisure to examine it. I mentioned that the survey which he recently made had been compared with his last survey; and this survey (meaning my own) shewed the matter in a still stronger light, because it shews that a great many changes have taken place

since his survey was made. I then proceeded thus, "In stating these facts, I beg to say, that for my own part, I have no favourite theory to support, and have engaged less than most others of my profession in the agitation on some of the questions which have lately been so keenly discussed; not because I think these questions unimportant, or because I regard them with indifference, but because not being able altogether to agree with those whose general views I am disposed to prefer, I have been unwilling to come into public collision with such as have a most laudable object in view, while, at the same time, they may have adopted opinions different from mine, in regard to the best method of obtaining that object." This sentence must be understood in connection with the statement of facts which I gave in in writing, and which was the consequence, first, of the contradiction by Dr Chalmers; and, secondly, of the attempt of Mr Cunningham and Mr Johnston to draw from me an admission that some of the removals which I mentioned must have been the consequences of houses falling into decay, or other incidental circumstances. It was evidently an object with them to deny or to explain away the facts. But I considered it to be my duty to relate truly, according to information which I deemed incontrovertible, all statistical facts connected with the condition of my parish. And I thought it not unbecoming to say that I was not exposed to the temptation of attempting to bend any of the facts which fell under my observation, so as to support any set of preconceived notions. But while I said this, I very strongly felt, that whatever view might be taken of the most eligible plan of providing for an existing evil, it was incumbent on me to represent the evil as being without all controversy of great magnitude, and an evil requiring the watchful attention of Government, though on the part of the ministers of Edinburgh, no application was made for any additional means within the city. I did not suppose that my testimony was likely to be less attended to, as coming from one who

wished to confine himself to facts without engaging in controversy. The mention of the little part which I had taken in public discussions was suggested by the controversial form of the evidence given before the Commission for a day or two before. I did not by any means affect to be neutral in the questions which had been agitated. But not merely on these questions, but on various others I had taken a less prominent part in public than many others had done. Indeed, for more than seven years (with one exception) I had taken no share in the proceedings of any public meeting, though I had occasionally attended as an auditor. I had not even gone to a public meeting on the subject of Sabbath Observance, because I knew that I did not hold the same views with some of those who took a very warm interest in that matter. For a similar reason, I had denied myself the satisfaction of being present at various other meetings. I had even absented myself from the discussion in the Presbytery of Edinburgh in reference to the Annuity, on the 24th of April 1833, merely because I had reason to believe that I did not altogether agree with other members in all the views which they took of the question. And when I saw the report of the proceedings afterwards, I was glad I had not been there; for, with great deference to the speakers, I could not well have abstained from expressing some difference of opinion on a subject which some of them had so imperfectly investigated, as not to know at all what was the strongest ground on which it could be defended. A subsequent meeting the following year I did attend, and the few observations which I then made on some of the topics of discussion, involved me in a controversy which proved a source of very great discomfort. From that moment I have felt there were many other more quiet and more useful ways of employing my time than by mingling in scenes of strife. There are, indeed, various particulars on which I have entertained views different from those of Dr Chalmers. I differ from him with regard to the principle of an Establishment. I considered the declarations

which he made in the discussion on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, as having a direct tendency to subvert the foundation on which a religious establishment rests. I differ from him in the views which he has expressed on many occasions with regard to the position of Dissenters, and I think that these views are not supported by any of the facts with which I am acquainted. I differ from him with regard to the mode in which he would provide for the poor in a city like this; and one of the greatest difficulties I have felt in going along with him in other details of his general plan, arises from the apprehension that there would be a disposition to complicate the scheme of Church Extension with a system of management which, in the present circumstances of the Old Town, would, in my opinion, prove an oppression to the poor, and a relief only to the rich. For this reason it was that, in my concluding observation to the Commission, the 19th of March, I said, "I cannot cease to think that the Old Town should still be superintended in such a way that the inhabitants of the New Town, in whose service many of the people have become poor, should feel that they are under a peculiar obligation to attend to their advantage, both temporal and spiritual." If I had gone to the Commission on the 18th and 19th of March, for the purpose of controverting the opinions of Dr Chalmers, I could have found ample materials in the notes of what I heard him say on the 20th of February. If the majority of the members of the Church have assented to these views of his, I, at least, have never yet heard of it. I do not understand that the Church has ever expressed its approbation of the principle of a partial endowment, leaving the ministers' incomes to be partly dependent on seat-rents. But I allude particularly to his project for rendering Dissenting meeting-houses territorial, and his plan of endowing the Dissenters; neither of which proposals can, I think, be likely to be acceptable to those who have espoused the Dissenting interest. Besides, if the Dissenters of various denominations are to be united in doctrine with the Church,

it must be admitted that one of Dr. Chalmers's frequently announced principles must fall to the ground. I do not know how often he has expressed himself in words like these, but I have read such words in more than one publication bearing his name. "My idea of the perfection of an ecclesiastical system lies in this, that, in the first instance, there should be an Establishment, but that Establishment constantly operated upon, stimulated and kept on the alert by the zeal and activity of an energetic, active, and unconstrained Dissenterism." "It is well that sectarianism should flourish and prevail, even to the degree of alarming the dignitaries of our land for the safety of its ecclesiastical institutions." Such sentiments as these would not have been welcomed by our ancestors, who, as they regarded unity as one of the most precious blessings, lamented schism and division as evils most fatal to the safety and stability of the church, and hence it has not only always been one of the ordination vows of every minister that he will maintain the unity and peace of this church against error and schism, but it has been the practice to depose such as followed divisive courses. Every body knows what weight was given by our reformers from the earliest times to the questions relating to church government and discipline, and therefore they considered Independency as a fountain of anarchy, confusion, and every evil work. The printed works of Rutherford, Wood, Gillespie, Henderson, and Baillie (the brightest lights of our church in the time of its second reformation), contain thousands of pages against the principles of the Independents, and in favour of the divine right of Presbyterian government. But no doubt their notions will be numbered among antiquated follies. These notions were certainly carried to an extreme with which few, if any, of us now can sympathise. Yet for my own part, I must own that I cannot conceive the possibility of maintaining the semblance of church order, if Presbyterianism and Independency were to be united on such a footing as was attempted in England after the revolution.

The consequence necessarily was, that Presbyterian principles were abandoned, and the churches became universally congregational. The concession was all on the side of the Presbyterians; for to the principle of a subordination of church courts, the Independents could not possibly agree. Whether this compromise tended to the maintenance of pure doctrine and wholesome discipline, is a question on which I shall not enter any farther, than by saying that it soon led to the abandonment of the subscription of the Confession of Faith. The principle on which Dissenters are to be endowed and appointed to certain territorial bounds, is one which Dr Chalmers has not yet succeeded in explaining; and sure I am that if it had been enunciated by me, I would have been speedily told in a voice of thunder that I was embarrassing the question of Church Endowments, by attempting to engraft on it a proposal which had never been submitted either to the consideration of the civil government or to the ecclesiastical courts. Why such an element should have been introduced into the discussion, it is not for me to divine. If the ministers of the Dissenting bodies are to forego their principles, and accept of a share of such partial endowments as, along with the produce of seat-rents, may provide for the maintenance both of them and the other ministers who hold the principle of an Establishment, then it must come to be a question whether the parties thus unequally yoked together are to cultivate the same common field, or conterminous fields; and in either case the working of the territorial principle must be a mystery to men of ordinary capacity. In case of a dividing of the common between two sects, especially if they are to be at liberty to "sow their vineyard with divers seeds," are none of the inhabitants of the adjoining districts to have a choice of the ministers to whom they are to submit themselves; or are the poor alone to be *adscripti glebæ*, in a state of such villainage as prevailed in feudal times, while the rich roam at large with the excursive freedom of unrestrained dissenterism? Many such questions

might I have asked, without much hope of a plain and practical answer. The question surely is not without its difficulties, even when it is not perplexed and tossed about with every wind of such divers and strange doctrines as an erratic fancy may raise. And I do not think that any sober-minded man can be gratified by a peremptory insisting on conditions unlikely to be realized, and which, if they could be realized for a short time, could not fail ultimately to frustrate the object which is contemplated.\*

I must forbear from dwelling at any length upon the perpetual declamation about my having "made spontaneous invasion on a high department of the Church's service," and "obtruded such views and opinions on the Commissioners of a reluctant if not a hostile Government, as are fitted utterly to destroy the cause of Church Extension;" and having "broken loose on another territory than my own, and endeavoured to lay low the chief strengths and securities by which it is guarded." Let him, then, produce his strong reasons for arraigning me for this treason against the interest of the Church, and he will find that many others will be included in the same condemnation. But probably he thinks that, by an act of sudden and summary excision, which waits not for the forms of law, it may be enough to devote me as the solitary victim, for having been, as he thinks, the first to trespass on his manor, even as the barbarian founder of Rome plunged his sword into his brother's heart, because, in his jealousy and rage, he imagined that, in overleaping his diminutive walls, that brother had derided his undertaking. It is possible to be actuated by a more savage and ruthless vindictiveness than this,—like that of the freebooters, who, in the cruelty of their tender mercies, stripped the traveller

\* After all that Dr Chalmers has said of the scheme of the Church being altogether identified with the strict application of the parochial system to large towns, I must still maintain, that the Church has ever till this hour, in its public acts, countenanced and approved the relaxation for which I plead; as for instance, in the act 1816, as to elders, and the act containing the regulations for the roll of communicants.

of his raiment, and left him half dead. The untamed virulence of the mind of Dr Chalmers has taught him to store up in his armoury of offensive weapons, all the terms of opprobrium and vituperation; and though I know that the curse causeless shall not come, I have not to thank him if my name shall not be, through his morbid emotions, consigned to the execration both of men of this generation and the race to come. Like the querulous and irascible Jonah, who thought he did well to be angry because of his gourd, he has been angry with his brother without any cause of which I have ever been convinced. He has applied to that brother many rancorous expressions, many contumelious, bitter, and devouring words. As he scruples not to hold out to others the terrors of judgment to come, because he cannot bear that his violent dealing should be returned on his own pate, let him go and learn what that meaneth which is written in the 5th chapter of Mathew, on the use of such exasperating and scornful terms as he has applied to me.

In what remains I shall be very brief. Dr Chalmers, after many other groundless allegations about political leanings, aptitude for misleading the Government, aspiring to be an authority in every thing, liking to give hostile or insignificant evidence, and heartless fellowship with a hostile Government;—words which it is very easy for any man to multiply, if it be his object to carry an object by means of personal abuse, without having any just warrant for employing them,—proceeds to what he calls his conference with Dr Welsh, which contains some of the most glaring misrepresentations in his whole pamphlet. He there represents me, along with Dr Welsh, as approving of some imaginary plans with regard to University Education, which it never entered into our imaginations to approve. It is not the fact that I have ever approved of a plan of abolishing Theological Professorships, which he thought was involved in the University Bill. I once had scruples about that bill, which were remo-



ved by assurances which I personally received from Conservative members of both Houses of Parliament, on whom I obtruded no opinion, but to whom, when I was asked, I freely stated my difficulties. I never spoke on the subject to a Ministerial member. I dissented from a deliverance of the Presbytery of Edinburgh on that bill, for reasons which Dr Chalmers has seen, but which he does not touch as he would have done, if they had suited his purpose. There is not one particular in the bill to which he objects, which is not to be found in one or other of the existing statutes, as I shall take care to shew in due time. But this I believe may be more fitly reserved for a separate discussion.

I cannot, however, pass by altogether what has been said of my evidence given to the Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of Edinburgh and Leith. On that subject I was attacked in a letter signed *Edineasis*, published in the *Scottish Guardian*, Oct. 10. 1836; which was shewn to me some time afterwards by a friend, who wished me to take public notice of it. This I declined to do, as I did not choose to converse or correspond with a man who wore a mask, and who did not think it incumbent on him to communicate his accusation to me. The accusation was to this purpose (for I had only a transient look of the paper), that I had "forborne to come prominently forward in opposition to the views which others had laid before the Committee," and the letter concluded by expressing a strong suspicion that I had no great interest in the schemes for the extension of the Church.

I was almost sure that my accuser could have no reason to think that I knew of any views which others had laid before the Committee. In fact, having gone to London to attend to another matter, I would probably not have thought of being present at that Committee, if I had not been told that I would there have an opportunity of meeting a friend whom I wished to see. When I went into the room, I did not know of one word that had ever passed there, except this, that some

witnesses had recommended stipends of L. 500 a-year to be given to the ministers of Edinburgh. In a brief examination of a Magistrate of Edinburgh (Mr Donaldson) I heard a similar suggestion; and while I was writing a letter for that day's post, I heard my own name mentioned as being able to give some information to the Committee. Sir George Clerk came to me to ask me to give evidence on two points. I wished to have a little more warning,—but the points mentioned to me were such as involved no difficulty, and at last I consented. Unexpectedly, I was pressed with many other questions,—to which I returned answers in which, I am quite confident, every thing material was embodied which had been previously communicated about the beginning of May, in a circular from the Ministers of Edinburgh, addressed to a number of Members of the House of Commons connected with Scotland,—copies of which I saw in the hands of some Members of the Committee. I felt desirous of avoiding saying any thing which could be understood to commit the Ministers of Edinburgh; and whereas I have been since accused of omitting to bring before the Committee any of the views connected with the Parochial System and the Scheme of Church Extension, I must say, in the first place, that it never could have entered into my imagination that these were matters under the consideration of “the Select Committee on Leith Harbour;” and, secondly, that the printed Letter of the Ministers, to which I have now referred, contains not a word on any of these questions, but expresses their readiness to acquiesce in Mr Labouchere's arrangement, particularly in consequence of the very unpleasant circumstances attending the collection of their present incomes, and the odium which has been heaped upon them in connexion with it. In that letter the Ministers expressed no opinion concerning seat-rents, and I was not called upon to say more than they had done. The examination closed abruptly, owing, as I understood, to the meeting of the House. But as, on the questions connected with the Annu-

ty particularly, there had been an abrupt transition to other subjects (which I had not the means of checking), I immediately told one of the members that I would wish to have another opportunity of explaining more fully some particulars which did not seem to be well understood; and I provided materials for the explanation of these subjects; but when I expected to find this opportunity, I was told that the Committee had resolved to take no more evidence. Indeed, it was at that time understood that there was such a division in the Committee that the negotiation was not likely to go farther; but it was a disappointment to me that I had not found access to communicate some matters with which I was well acquainted, and which were not likely to have been stated before.

But after all that has been said, not only by this newspaper writer, but still more furiously by Dr Chalmers, with respect to the defects of that evidence, and the injury done by it to the cause of the Ministers of Edinburgh, I have not yet discovered in what respect I compromised their interests. The Ministers have never personally made any complaint to me, as it would have been more manly to do, if they were dissatisfied, than to let loose Dr Chalmers with the wrath on which more than a hundred souls must have gone down before it burst forth in my hearing. It is altogether unreasonable to chide me for omitting to speak of the real use of an endowment, or its connection with low seat-rents, or its bearing on the Christian education of the people, or the injustice done to the plebeian families by the magistrates, or the manner in which this injustice could be repaired by preserving the existing endowment, or providing an adequate substitute. These were not questions before the Committee, with the exception of the last,—and this last was a question which neither the ministers nor any other set of men have been able to solve. I expressed no dogmatical opinions, such as Dr Chalmers has expressed again and again, on the subject of the annuity, the original principle of which

he seems not to understand; otherwise he would not so confidently propose to introduce changes to which the inhabitants would never agree; and which, if introduced, would be no more beneficial to any party, and, for very obvious reasons, more disadvantageous to the ministers, than even the present system.

I am quite ready to defend, and I will defend very soon, all that I said on the subject of the University of Edinburgh. No man of candour understands that evidence in the light which Dr Chalmers has represented it. But, in the mean time, I take notice of a paragraph in p. 80, where he says I told my examiners of "the decrease that is now taking place in the attendance on the Divinity Class in Edinburgh." "It has no connection (he says) with the question which came before it—and I must therefore consider it as a gratuitous information on the part of Dr Lee—and volunteered by him for the purpose of furnishing the members of Committee with a full view of the data on which they might fix their determination in regard to the Theological Chair of Edinburgh, whatever that should be." Dr Chalmers adds in a note—"Dr Lee, at the last meeting of the Presbytery, stated that this part of his answer to No. 3. *must have been* to another question that was afterwards withdrawn. I was satisfied with this explanation at the time, but I have since learned from Parliamentary men that it is *quite impossible* for any question to be withdrawn, without its corresponding answer being withdrawn along with it. Dr Lee's recollection, therefore, must have failed him." This is not a very indirect way of saying that I stated what was not true. Who the Parliamentary men can be who said that it was *impossible* for a question to be withdrawn without its corresponding answer being withdrawn, I cannot guess,—but I remember instances myself in which questions were even omitted to be put down, and yet the answers stood.\* And I also

\* One of these instances occurred in the Patronage Committee in 1834. In answer to question. 2728, I referred to a pamphlet said to have been

remember very distinctly other cases in which, when part of an answer only was retained, the original question was withdrawn and another inserted to suit the answer. But (not to speak of my own *recollections*; which are not likely to fail me altogether in a matter in which I have had much more experience than I could have gained by occasional attendance at committees) the moment I saw this paragraph in Dr Chalmers's pamphlet, I wrote to three members of the Select Committee, all possessed of much parliamentary experience, asking them if, according to their recollection, my statement was consistent with fact or with the usual practice.\*

written by Lord Cullen. I was asked, "Was that the late Lord Cullen?" I answered, "No; the Lord Cullen of that time was Mr Francis Grant," and then I went on to give the title of the pamphlet. But this unimportant question is left out in the Report of the Evidence, which is here printed in this unintelligible manner: "I have two of them here, both printed at Edinburgh in 1703, one of which is said to have been written by Lord Cullen, at the time of Mr Thaucis Grange. The one is entitled, *A Letter*," &c. No person can possibly understand this. Lord Cullen and Mr Francis Grant (misprinted Thaucis Grange) were the same person; but his original name was mentioned by me only because I was asked a question which would not have been put if the date had been attended to,—and perhaps that might be the reason why the question was left out. I mention the circumstance chiefly as a specimen of the slovenly manner in which Parliamentary evidence is sometimes printed.

\* The question to which Dr Chalmers referred is 714 in the printed Minutes of the Committee, and is the 18th which was put to me on the University. It was this—"If the Town Council of Edinburgh would give no salary, and the professors had to rely on fees only, education in Edinburgh must cease?" I answered, "I would not say it would cease, but it certainly would be in a more depressed condition, at least the Professors would. *The numbers of the students of divinity have been decreasing of late.*" The last words, printed in italics, Dr Chalmers charged me with having volunteered for an unworthy purpose, and he accompanied his charge with a torrent of abuse. Without suffering myself to resent the violence which I ascribed to misapprehension, I stated calmly how the matter stood, assuring him that this expression was (I did not say *must have been*) part of an answer to a question, which I recited, and which, with the rest of the answer, was withdrawn for a reason which I also stated. He seemed satisfied,—but has since recurred to the charge in a manner which I could not have expected from a gentleman or a Christian.

One of them stated that my account of the matter was perfectly natural, and (though he had no recollection in regard to the particular question) very likely to have occurred in a committee on public questions. Another answered, "Dr Chalmers is quite mistaken in supposing that no such practice as that of striking out questions, without striking out all the answers which flow from them, occurs in parliamentary practice. It is quite a baseless ground to build a charge upon." The Chairman of the Committee said, "My impression of your examination entirely corresponds with your statement;" and he sent me the following note from Mr Gurney, the short-hand writer:—

"SIR,—On referring to the short-hand notes of the evidence on the 13th of June last, it appears, that after the words, "the professors would," in answer 714, a question was put and an answer given, which were erased by direction of the committee, with the exception of the latter clause of that answer, which was retained in consequence of question 715 being founded upon it. The abruptness of this clause is occasioned solely by this omission. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

W. B. GURNEY.

"ABINGDON STREET, 1st Feb. 1837."

Thus vanish the whole assurances derived from parliamentary men on the impossibility of an occurrence taking place, which has often taken place, and which is certified to have taken place in this particular instance. It is very manifest that Dr Chalmers considers it a most aggravated offence to have given what he calls gratuitous information, though true. And he has obstinately refused to believe me, when I stated afterwards that the information was not gratuitous, but drawn from me almost unavoidably. I will repeat what the question was, and how it was answered. I was asked if I knew what has been the amount of fees paid to the Professor of Divinity? I answered that I could not state

with certainty, as the amount depended on the numbers, which are variable. But suppose the number to be 200, the amount would be L.420, as each student pays two guineas to the Professor. Thus far I had proceeded when Sir James Graham handed across the table a printed paper, which I understood to be a copy of a communication from Dr Chalmers, and in which it was stated that the fees yielded only L.250. I then remarked that my calculation had been only conjectural, proceeding on the supposition that the attendance was greater than it now seemed to be. I had occasion to know from the University Report that the average enrolments had been 256 for the five years preceding 1826, but there must have been a greater diminution than I supposed, though I knew that the numbers of students of divinity had been decreasing of late. Then followed three other questions, arising out of this answer, and as I had not been able to state the amount of fees from personal knowledge, it was thought proper to withdraw that part of the answer from the evidence. I am not responsible for the retaining of the concluding remark concerning the diminution of numbers; but I was naturally led to it in accounting for the difference between my computation and the return of fees given by Dr Chalmers himself, which struck me at the moment as being less than I expected. I afterwards accounted for the diminution of numbers by saying, that more persons have already been licensed than are likely to be provided for. I might have mentioned some other reasons, which did not occur to me at the moment. The average number at Edinburgh ten years ago exceeded 250, but before that time there had been a considerable number belonging to the Synod of Relief, who have now a Divinity Hall of their own; and probably there were still more, while no fees were paid, who, without having any decided intention of entering the Church, were in the habit of enrolling, while they were engaged in teaching or otherwise, probably expecting that prospects might afterwards open, which

would make it an object to them to take licence. Small as the fees may appear, it is likely that they do prevent the enrolment of a number of such persons, and I do not think this is any disadvantage, but rather a benefit, to the community, for little good can be expected from such as merely enrol their names without giving their hearts to the study. I am not called upon to add, but I do add, with the utmost sincerity, that nothing was farther from my thoughts than to give rise to an idea that the diminution of numbers was discreditable to Dr Chalmers or any other Professor. I spoke of the numbers only in reference to the productiveness of the class.

I now dismiss this subject, with a feeling of mortification, not on my own account, but on account of the tenacity with which Dr Chalmers clung to an imputation, from which he at one time professed to depart, but to which, he returned with an avidity, for which I cannot account, unless it was his purpose to excite against me a suspicion both of malice and falsehood. If during the three months which have elapsed since I had it in my power to prove that the authority of his parliamentary men is good for nothing, he has succeeded in producing such an impression on the minds of any of the members of the Church, I can have no respect for the judgment of such men as are capable of deciding on the word of an accuser, who does not even give the names of his witnesses, and whose personal animosity is evidently so unbounded.

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Other more pressing engagements prevent me in the mean time from taking much notice of the other pamphlets which have been published against me. That of Mr Bruce would be almost unworthy of notice, if it were not that it proves him to have been accessary, both before and after the fact, to the violence offered to me by Dr Chalmers, and that it prospectively approves of the then meditated and prepared



assault of Mr Cunningham, besides that it plainly charges me with being a hinderer of that cause, by the postponement of which innumerable souls must be for ever lost. Nor do I understand the principle on which, changing one of my expressions, he again and again says, that I professed a *dread* of coming into public collision with him and others,—when he knows that I spoke of *unwillingness*, but neither of *dread* nor *fear*, the word which another controversialist has put into my mouth. And, lastly, I have never understood that it was the practice of any gentleman to endeavour to attach odium to any one whom he calls a friend, by promulgating the particulars of an incidental conversation on the street, without so much as asking that friend if he admits the accuracy of his recollections. But above all, the manner in which Mr Waddell's testimony has been got up, is one of the most unhandsome and indelicate things which I ever witnessed. If I were capable of seeking testimonies concerning impressions, I could, without any pressing, bring witnesses to prove that they heard a speech of Mr Bruce on the subject of Church Extension, at which they all held down their heads—not thinking it either creditable to him, or serviceable to the cause,—and if such things are to be tolerated, there must soon be an end to all cordiality of intercourse between man and man.

Mr Cunningham's pamphlet contains, as might have been expected, many specimens of self-sufficiency, rudeness, and acrimony. By his delegated pen Dr Chalmers has obtained the advantage of saying many things which it would not have been very becoming to say in his own name. His unbridled tongue is one which boasteth great things. He thinks himself entitled to treat me with the utmost disdain, and this feeling he has uniformly expressed in a manner which, if ever so much deserved by me, is not very like the tone and bearing which a minister of less than seven years' standing would generally think himself entitled to assume towards a man of gray hairs, even though that man were not one who had for thirty years been allowed to be

put in trust with the Gospel. He seems to have forgotten the precept, "Rebuke not an elder, but intreat him as a father." He talks (p. 27) of having stood up in the Presbytery, and rebuked me publicly to my face, because he says I ~~had~~ cavilled at some unimportant statement in a preceding excellent speech. I had said very little more than that I must not be understood to acquiesce in all the views which had been expressed in a speech delivered by Mr Begg, in seconding a motion for the appointment of a Committee on a subject of which it would be very strange if I did not know any thing. And I would not have said so much as even this, if I had not observed for some time past, that whenever any sentiment uttered in a Church Court is allowed to pass without any remark, it is generally represented afterwards that those who were present must have been held as assenting to it. If I had in that instance erred, it was not the part of Mr Cunningham to rebuke me; and though I am not much in the habit of replying to such asperities as he has a turn for uttering, the time has never yet come when I would have suffered from him, or any other member, a rebuke for saying what I was perfectly entitled to say. But I pass from this comparatively unimportant matter, that I may take notice of a few of his positions.

In one part of his pamphlet (p. 10-12), he endeavours to shew that Dr Chalmers was fully entitled to use the language employed in his circular with regard to the views of the Old Moderators, and their unanimous resolution to recommend one who was selected on some special grounds. "Dr Chalmers (he says) stated, at the meeting of the Old Moderators, his reasons for opposing Dr Lee; and as none of them gainsaid any thing which he alleged, he might fairly enough presume, that, while not formally responsible for the reasons, they did in point of fact concur in the substance of them." Mr Cunningham sneers at me for having written to the Old Moderators to ask them if they had expressed any such concurrence. I was well entitled to do so. All to whom I wrote were

friends of at least twenty years' standing;—I had been living in habits of cordial intercourse with them all. It would have struck me with extreme astonishment, if I could have credited that my own familiar friends and Christian brethren would have authorized a representation to go forth in their names, which was calculated to bring reproach on one to whom they had never once breathed an expression of dissatisfaction on any such ground as is stated in the letter. And if they did not spontaneously declare that they had given no consent to that declaration, it would have been very strange indeed, if I had not asked them. If the construction which Mr Cunningham puts on their answers to me were a fair one, then must they be capable of such dissimulation and duplicity as would at once reconcile me to the loss of their friendship in all time coming. I could not wonder that they waited till they were asked the question, when I learned from them that, till I sent them a copy of the circular, they had never seen it. But if they are willing to have it believed that they answered me evasively, or with mental reservation, it is their affair, not mine. I make them all very welcome to the benefit of Mr Cunningham's casuistry, if it be possible that there can be one among them who would not think himself disgraced by having it believed that he had strained his conscience so far as not only to speak smoothly and deceitfully, but directly to say that he had never been consenting to the reasons (or never even heard of the reasons), "in the substance of which he had, in point of fact, concurred." They have not all been equally explicit, but not one has avowed his concurrence, and most of them absolutely and unequivocally disavowed it.

In page 17 Mr Cunningham refers to a passage in the "Statement of certain ministers and elders", in which it had been said that the differences between Dr Chalmers and me, regarding the parochial system, had formed the subject of a special correspondence between us, and that I had refrained from publishing my sentiments, on the express representation

of Dr Chalmers, that the collision between us would be injurious to the interest of the Church. Mr Cunningham says that this serious and offensive charge is utterly unfounded : but he admits that, in a letter to Dr Chalmers, referring to his pamphlet, entitled " The Evils which the Established Church in Edinburgh has already Suffered, &c.," I had signified a purpose of publishing my views on the general question, which, in very many respects, differed materially from those of Dr Chalmers,—and that Dr Chalmers, in his reply, urged the inexpediency of carrying the threat of a publication into effect, because, by having a controversy on such an occasion, a handle would be given to enemies, and thus injurious results would be produced. This admission is enough to prove that if we had not a special correspondence, we had at least a correspondence, in the course of which I stated that my views differed materially from his, on the general question treated of in his pamphlet ; and that he dissuaded me from any publication on the subject, without having at least an interview with him. Now, certainly, I had no interview with him, and I did not publish any thing. But I knew very well that he remembered that to him I had mentioned differences as plainly as I did to the Commissioners ; and yet the remembrance of what I had thus said did not prevent him from authorizing a friend to state to me formally very soon afterwards, that it was his wish to propose me as Moderator of the General Assembly of the following year. The fact is, that I have mislaid both Dr Chalmers's letter and my own notes and memoranda, though I have them very carefully laid up among some other papers ; but I have marked a number of passages in my copy of his pamphlet, in several of which I have inserted notes of approbation, and at others have expressed a difference of opinion, generally with respect to the causes of the evils and the parties most to blame, and occasionally with respect to some details of the proposed remedial measures. I am not sensible that any of the enemies of the Church could have reason to think that their cause was served by such minor

differences; but certainly I have not been in the habit of proclaiming them in any quarter, and I thought it too much, a great deal, when Dr Chalmers said so fiercely that the differences of which I would not tell my brethren, I poured into the ears of the Commissioners.

The next passage to which I refer in Mr Cunningham's pamphlet, is a note in which he says, that after I threatened to bring Dr Chalmers's conduct under the notice of the Presbytery, I abandoned the attempt after the Conference was published. This is not a just representation of what I said or did. When Dr Chalmers published a letter on the 13th of December, I inserted two very short letters in the newspapers, in which I did not threaten to bring his conduct under the notice of the Presbytery, but said I would there take notice of his letter, so as to vindicate myself. My intention was, (as I expressed in one of my letters), to take the plain course of submitting myself, in the spirit of meekness, to the judgment of the Presbytery. Every friend of mine knew that I meant to call upon Dr Chalmers to say if he had any charge to make against me as holding views dangerous to the interests of the Church, and to offer to dispense with all preliminary notices if either he or the Presbytery would institute an inquiry, in the constitutional form, into the grounds of such a charge. This I would have done at the next meeting, but I did not think it proper to do it in Dr Chalmers's absence, though I did not well understand the reason assigned for his absence.\* Before another meeting, his pamphlet was published, and the character of that pamphlet was such that I felt myself entitled to follow another course, unless the Presbytery, on my mention of the subject, should think fit to make an inquiry. I stated to them, that, in the change of circumstances, I desisted from my former purpose; but I

\* It was stated for him by Mr Cunningham, that he had been advised to go to the country for the benefit of his health. The time was the winter solstice—the weather very cold—the distance 50 miles—and he had been confined to the house about a fortnight.

considered the accusations against me as of a most serious nature, and relevant to infer the highest censures of the Church; and moreover, the ends of substantial justice could never be expected to be attained in an inquiry into character, unless the charge and the defence were as nearly as possible simultaneous, and made public through the same channels. But the Presbytery would take no such hint, but seemed to listen more to the representation of Dr Chalmers, that this was not a matter to be obtruded on the Church Courts, and so I did not insist farther, though I distinctly stated my readiness to meet any charge against my character. Mr Cunningham next states that I consulted counsel whether or not the pamphlet of Dr Chalmers afforded ground for an action of damages, and took some steps in the way of preparing a summons. He then says, that the conduct of a minister who should drag one of his co-presbyters into a court of law on a matter merely affecting his character,—a subject on which the Presbytery is the proper tribunal to judge,—is deserving of the severest reprobation, and this would evidently have been a peculiarly aggravated case of the offence. “If Dr Lee had served a summons upon Dr Chalmers (he adds) I would assuredly have brought Dr Lee’s conduct in the matter under the consideration of the Presbytery, and exposed it as it would have deserved; and the mere intention of doing such a thing, even though it has not been carried into effect, ought to be visited with some mark of public disapprobation.”

As to the mere intention, I could prove, if it were necessary, that a late eminent clergyman, nearly ten years ago, seriously intended to prosecute a co-presbyter for publishing a pamphlet in which his character was attacked,—and, for a long time at least, never ceased to regret that “the matter had not gone into a court of law.” That was a case in which it can never be too much lamented that the Presbytery had not interposed. But I can prove farther, that, within the last two years, the General Assembly unanimously put a mi-

nister into the Chair who, less than five years before, had "dragged one of his co-presbyters into a court of law on a matter merely affecting his character," having raised a summons of damages before the Court of Session on the 12th of June 1830, against a neighbouring minister, for having written two private letters and a letter in a newspaper, which were alleged to contain statements false, calumnious, and injurious, aggravated by having been made against a brother clergyman, by which the pursuer had been (as I have been) "injured in his good name and reputation—his character as a man had suffered—his usefulness as a clergyman had been lessened—his clerical character injured, and the feelings both of himself, of his family, and those who are under his pastoral charge, had been hurt and outraged." I do not here inquire whether this pursuer gained his cause or dropped the prosecution, but he carried it on some time; and certainly the provocation and injury in his case could not be compared to mine. I could produce more instances in which the members of the General Assembly have not been very fastidious on the subject of prosecutions for defamation. But I will say, that I have never been prosecuted for defamation, and I have never raised a summons against a minister for defamation; and, though some experienced legal friends, of their own accord, advised me to do so, and laid a case before counsel, I was much more satisfied in following an opposite advice. But I do not for that reason cease to say that I have been calumniated, particularly in so far as it has been indecently and groundlessly insinuated, that I have in some instances manifested a disregard for truth, and not less as I have been represented as being ready to concur with a hostile government, in destroying the best interests of the Church. And, notwithstanding the menaces of Mr Cunningham, I do not by any means admit that, if a minister of the Gospel shall so far forget, not only the courtesies of ordinary life, but the law of Christian kindness, as to treat me as a heathen man and a publican, expressing his antipathy and disdain in the columns of news-

papers and other publications, I must be held bound to abstain from seeking redress from the laws of my country, especially if other members of the Church Courts either make themselves parties, or silently look on while one is biting and devouring another.

Mr Cunningham alleges that I possess the favour of the Government, and that the mere fact of any Government, and especially such a Government as the present, taking an interest in the elevation of any individual to the Chair of the Assembly, is a very sufficient reason why the Members of the Assembly should regard that individual with some jealousy and suspicion.

I have reason to believe that there are people who represent me as having in some way or other, within the last two years, conciliated the good will of the Government. I have never been able to understand whence this suspicion has proceeded. It is certain that I have been very generally considered by many of my oldest friends as the most obstinately tenacious of the Tory party, because nobody had ever brought me so far as to confess that the Reform Bill had done any good at all. I do verily believe that no person now alive is less "given to change." But there never has been a time when I did not freely take the course which my own conscience dictated, though many with whom I generally agreed should have stood aloof or acted otherwise. There have been various occasions on which I gave offence to very good friends by co-operating with persons of another party. And particularly in the year 1823, I was unquestionably the most active and determined of all the persons who called in question the King's Prerogative in the printing of the Bible. I was probably the first person in Scotland who ever called it in question; and so decided was I in this matter, that few of the boldest of the Whig lawyers would go so far. A lawsuit was carried on for five years, in which I took much trouble and incurred great personal expense, in collecting materials for treatises which I wrote on the subject.



The cause was understood to be lost by the Bible Societies with which I was associated; but I maintain, and the ablest men whom I know maintain along with me, that we virtually gained it. In consequence of the free discussion, we have now cheaper, better printed, and more correct Bibles than we had before; and the restrictions by which we have for some time been fettered are not likely to be imposed again. In this matter I have not for the last fourteen years ever ceased to take an interest. "Infirm of purpose," as I am said to be—in this at least I have been unflinching and persevering. And though I believe there are not very many people in this country who really understand the question, or think that it is one which requires to be watched, I am not the less disposed to contribute what I yet can to its satisfactory adjustment, though there may be more to thwart than to aid my endeavours. But what I was going to say chiefly is, that though I have reason to regret that my attention was long so engrossed in this matter, as to be in a greater degree withdrawn from other professional duties by it than by any other cause, yet the labour I bestowed on it did obtain credit both from those who were opposed to my views, and those who favoured them. I can never forget the singular liberality and kindness of the present Dean of Faculty, who was our ablest opponent; and, on the other hand, I had the satisfaction of obtaining the favourable notice of two of his eminent predecessors, now Lord Corehouse and Lord Moncrieff, as well as of Lord Brougham, Dr Lushington, and other lawyers, all of the Whig party, who were consulted or engaged in the cause of the Bible Societies. I ascribe it partly to this incidental connection, and to the personal knowledge of more than one, then high in office, who had been my contemporaries at College, that the Professorship of Church History in Edinburgh was bestowed on me the moment the vacancy was announced. Dr Chalmers greatly mistakes if he thinks that he inflicted any serious or permanent disappointment on me, by his interference on that

occasion. I made not the least struggle to retain it. I would have done so if I could have afforded to hold it by itself, as from the first I stated to be my wish. But if I had held it with a church for a time, I also declared from the first, that I would not retain along with it other appointments which were of equal value. These declarations of mine were in the possession of the gentleman who made the application, well knowing that I was not an adherent of the ministry. Whether the selection was a wise or a rash one, no appointment could ever have been more disinterested on the part of those who made it. And of another thing I am quite sure, that no person ever resented less than I did, the misrepresentations of my intentions, which were communicated to the Government by some professed friends, who never had the manliness to tell me what they had done. If it be supposed that any great favour has been done to me since, and that it has been granted as a reward for political subservency, no misrepresentation could be greater. I was indeed named as a Commissioner for visiting one of the Universities. This is an appointment of some labour and of no emolument, and was offered to me only as having been one who had been engaged in the same duties several years ago, when the nomination was as unsolicited as it has recently been.\* I accepted on the express understanding that the terms of the Commission contained a clause recognising the existing constitution and laws of the Church of Scotland. More recently, another appointment has been conferred on me, not without solicitation, but the consequence of accepting it must be so great a reduction of income, that it is not a promotion but a descent. Such is the amount of my obligations to the

\* In 1826 I was asked by Lord Melville if I would act as a Commissioner. His Lordship is at the head of the present Commission for Glasgow, and I do not know why it should be a reproach to me again to act with him. I was supposed at least to have some acquaintance with the facts. A decided Conservative has also been appointed Secretary to the Commission, on the ground of his previous experience in the same capacity under the former Commission.

Government. And though this office may be, on the whole, better suited to my turn of mind and habits, than almost any other which I could fill, I do not feel that I am bound to interfere, in the slightest degree, in the support of any of the measures of the Government. On the contrary, I consider myself to be in a condition in which all political partizanship would be unbecoming and inconsistent with my professional duties.

And now I must conclude for the present, leaving much unsaid. The subject of University Education is of sufficient magnitude to demand a separate discussion. But I may be called upon to treat some other subjects, as I perceive that Dr Chalmers is again accoutring himself for the conflict. That conflict is apparently only beginning. For, though I have been hitherto passive, I at last perceive very clearly that I have to deal with men who, if not withstood, are only encouraged to the commission of fresh wrongs and indignities. I wish to refrain from retaliation,—but now that I see how the aggressor complains of outrages, when he is reminded of his violent dealing in terms which are justly applicable to him, it becomes an act of duty to speak more plainly, and to inquire into the title which he has acquired, by the consistency of his past opinions, to come forward as an oracle, a judge, and a lawgiver among his brethren. He may be assured that I will not deal in any of the too diffident phrases which he scoffingly calls mincing ambiguities. Nor in the words which his organ and echo delights to reiterate, will the trumpet give an uncertain sound. I know not that in any of the weightier matters of the law, I have ever expressed myself with any hesitation or halting. I may not have professed a bigoted attachment to any mere human maxims (whatever may be their popularity), which are not expressly incorporated in our standards. But I challenge them to produce an instance in which I have betrayed a disposition to surrender one jot or tittle of the doctrine of our National Church, or to abandon any one of its distinctive observances.

and rules, whether of worship, or discipline, or government. Here, surely, I have made no concessions. I have offered no compromise. My trumpet has sounded no parley. I have never attempted, by any play upon words, to reconcile Arminianism and Calvinism. I have never announced my readiness to dispense with the faithful translations of the Scriptures received in the Protestant churches, and to substitute in their stead the versions of the Colleges of Douay and Rheims, which, along with their other errors, defects, and additions, labour under this grievous disadvantage, that they cannot be obtained otherwise than in combination with doctrines and commandments of men, which proclaim apostolical tradition and the voice of the Church to be of co-ordinate authority with the volume of inspiration. I have never treated questions of church government as being frivolous, or not essential to the security and unity of the household of faith, but have held that they must be numbered among the things which the great Head of the Church has taught us to observe, that there may be no schism in the body, and that the members, each in its several place, may keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. I have never pretended to discover a method by which sects now discordant may so compound or sink the principles which each has hitherto deemed fundamental, as to be comprehended in one common bond. Nor am I convinced that all other sources of alienation and enmity would be abolished in the instant, when they severally consent to accept endowments, and to confine their operations within certain palpable or at least ideal lines of circumvallation, as if the two words endowment and parish were henceforth to form in their combination the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*. It will not be by any such magic sounds that the Voluntary and the Compulsory churchmen will "wear a charmed life;" nor at the utterance of such a Shibboleth will the Independent and Presbyterian forget all their ancient feuds, and hang the trumpet in the hall. And yet, while I thus write; it is with deep sadness of heart that I

think of the small sparks by which great fires have been kindled; not only among individuals, who, by exercising a little forbearance, might have continued chief friends, but throughout extensive communities, in which, when the flames of dissension have blazed most fiercely, the greater part have not known how or why it was that their anger had been roused. Amidst many other vexations of spirit, which have almost worn out my frame, it grieves me unspeakably that I should be now separated from some of my brethren, with whom I have in time past taken sweet counsel;—and in no common measure I am concerned to think, that, though it has erroneously been insinuated, on what ground I know not, that I had long entertained a feeling of dislike towards my chief antagonist, I should now be engaged in any other strife with him than that of trying how we shall each most zealously and actively, in our several spheres, contribute to the prosperity of our Zion, and to the edifying of the body in love. For most true it is, that though I never had a fancy for all his peculiarities, no man ever lived by whose lofty eloquence I was more transported, or whose enthusiastic fervour in whatever he undertook yielded me more elevated and pure delight. But the once bright horizon is now overcast—the winter of discontent has been long and dreary—and now, when the flowers appear on the earth, and the time of the singing of birds is come, no voice of harmony salutes our ears—nor do we go out together, as would well become us, to see how the tender grapes spring forth, or how the bud-dings of that precious seed, which has been sown in tears, are either blighted by the mildew, or warmed by the sunbeam, so as to promise a rich supply of fruit, which in due season shall shake like Lebanon. While the husbandmen thus fall out by the way, what can we expect but that thistles will grow instead of wheat, and cockles instead of barley. How different this from the promised consummation in the times of refreshing, when they who sow beside all waters shall dwell in quiet resting places; and shall see, with delighted eyes, the

thorns and briers of dissension uprooted, both from the wilderness and the fruitful field, and succeeded by the myrtle and the olive, the emblems of love and peace, and by all the pure and precious fruits of righteousness. Alas! that the days of our years should be passed away in unprofitable contention, which, if I have in any degree unwittingly contributed to begin, assuredly I meant not so, neither did my heart think so. I was not panting for any pre-eminence,—I was not seeking to be exalted to an ephemeral dignity, that I might be better known in the gates, sitting among the elders of the land,—nor had I been vainly dreaming that, during the toils and the joy of harvest, my brethren's sheaves would do obeisance to mine. As little did I suspect that I was to be branded as the enemy of the Church for speaking the things which I knew, or that I would be accused before the whole world of having harboured malignant devices which my heart within me abhors. It is not in man to sit tamely, while they who are younger than I are holding me in derision, and old men and maidens are going from house to house, uttering hard speeches, which they cannot know to be true,—for true they are not. And thus it is, that, in despite of more pacific purposes, I must for a season engage in a strife, from which I cannot retire, so long as others persist in their efforts to overwhelm me with confusion and contempt. But whoever has let out these troubled waters, I cannot put away from me the solemn thought, that the end is at hand, when either the harvest shall be ripe, or all the labour of our hands shall fail. Sad will it be for us if the clouds shall yet return after the rain, and if, before the shadows of the evening are stretched out, the storm shall not be changed into a calm, and the emerald rainbow shall not spring up speedily over the renewed face of the troubled land, as a token of the covenant of peace. But, to speak no more of what is personal, I cannot refrain from expressing my earnest hope, that the day is not far off when the peace of the Church shall be multiplied as a river, and when, for divisions and separa-

tions among brethren, there shall be no searchings of heart, —when Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim,—when the Samaritan, once esteemed an alien in blood, and faith, and laws, shall in kindness and confidence take hold of the skirts of him that is a Jew, and the Jew shall have friendly and cordial dealings with the Samaritan,—when both in the city and in the field the people shall be turned to a pure language to worship the Father with one consent,—when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid,—and when there shall be nothing to hurt or to destroy in all the mountain of holiness, for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.





## APPENDIX.

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### OLD CHURCH PARISH.

DECLARATION of the Rev. Dr JOHN LEE, Minister of the Old Church Parish, Edinburgh, 18th February 1836.

COMPEARED the Rev. Dr JOHN LEE, Old Church Parish, Edinburgh, who was Examined as follows :—

How has the division into denominations been made out?—By different individuals ; I was present during a great part of the time myself, and, being one of the Assembly's committee, I used their tables to make up the returns. Mr Edmonstone took the greater part of the survey, who has had considerable experience in that duty. Two of the elders had gone over a portion of the ground, and I went over it afterwards.

Did the information come from the people themselves?—The statements are from the people themselves in the first instance ; but other inquiries were made, which did not always confirm them. In the second survey a different account was given by several of the people from what was given in the first instance, and there can scarcely be an approach to accuracy in the returns made. I have found the husband giving one account of the church he attended, and the wife another to myself personally ; and I found from other persons that they not only professed to them to go to another church, but belonged to a totally different communion. One instance in my recollection is that of persons who do not go to any church. The wife said they went to the Tolbooth Church, and the husband, not knowing who I was, and probably not knowing the answer his wife made, said he attended the Old Church, which is my own ; and the parish missionary told me that these people said to him they were Roman Catholics ; and if they are any thing, they are Roman Catholics.

In regard to the eighty-eight not known to belong to any religious de-

nomination, was it that nothing could be ascertained about them, or that they themselves said that they belonged to no denomination, that they are so set down?—In some cases nothing could be ascertained about them, in others they were unwilling to answer, or answered in such a way as led to the conclusion that they were quite undecided; some said they went to the Methodist chapel, some to the Relief, and some to the Church of Scotland; and on being further asked, they declared they had not made up their minds which church they would attend; and the conclusion I drew was, that their attendance any where was exceedingly rare.

In answer to query 6, as to the class of persons of which the population is chiefly composed; what are their particular pursuits, their trades and occupations?—They are very various; some are labourers, some shoemakers, and a considerable proportion are hawkers, the husband going about with goods, and the females with baskets, which certainly is not a very regular course of life, not very commendable always; but there are a great number who seem to have no certain mode of support at all. I have seen much wretchedness in my time, but never have I seen such a concentration of misery as in that parish. There are a great many Irish in it, and some of them are most wretched; but by far the most wretched are Scotch. Within the last week I have been in a house where there were seven in the family, a mother, five daughters and another girl who seemed to lodge with them, and there was neither chair nor table, stool, bed, nor blanket in the house, nor any kind of implement or utensil for cooking; all of them on a cold and stormy day sitting round a fire containing not more coals than I could hold in my hand. The woman had no means of subsistence arising from her own industry. One of the children, eight years old, had lost a leg, the husband died two years ago. She has the largest amount given from the charity workhouse, 2s. 6d. a-week; and though she professes to pay only 6d. a-week for her house, the remainder is just 4d. a-week for the support of each individual, exclusive of herself. I found other persons who had not a single blanket on their bed, and some grown-up men of twenty or thirty years of age, whose coats were pawned. One woman said that her husband had gone out with her last shift, and pawned it to get a little bread for them.

I suppose that a great many of these who do not attend any place of worship, belong to that class?—Yes; they cannot attend without clothing. Their wretchedness is such that it cannot be relieved except by some extraordinary means, different from what has yet been attempted, and no doubt it is brought on in many cases by themselves. I am told by the missionary, an intelligent man, that he believes that, among those who earn a living by industry, the average income is below 8s. a-week for a whole family; some elderly persons said to me, that though both husband and wife were working, yet between them they could not make above 4s. 6d. and 5s. a-week by their united industry.

What is the present temporary place of worship which you occupy?—It is a very handsome large room, fitted up for the use of the General Assembly, long and narrow, exceedingly ill adapted for hearing, and the accommodation is not such as people generally expect in a church.

Is there nothing doing to build a church?—There is nothing doing at present, in consequence, I presume, of the insolvency of the town. St Giles's was much better formerly than it is ever likely to be again.

Do you observe a difference between queries 15 and 16; the first refers to the average amount of attendance at each celebration of public worship, and the second to the habit of attending?—I observe the difference quite well. It is not possible to state what has been the number during consecutive months, and indeed I never thought of making the inquiry. I might be able to ascertain it for a future year. I beg to mention, however, that I have been only twelve months connected with this parish.

Is the congregation very fluctuating?—In general it is the same. There are several who seem to drop in occasionally, but on the whole the people are the same. In fact there is not access for more than 260 by one door. The remote galleries enter from the Parliament Square, and the impression is, that they are totally unfit for the purpose of hearing distinctly. I believe the people might hear tolerably in some parts if they would try them, but I know the nature of the objections they have to those places. The cold was intolerable in winter, when they were tried, and no attempt has been made of late to go back to them.

You mention that a preference is given to parishioners; a lower rent?—I had a communication from the Town-Council on the subject, and I presumed the chamberlain would have answered the question. The lowest rented seats to non-parishioners may be had by parishioners for 1s. less; and perhaps the average reduction is 2s. less; but I do not exactly recollect. On looking into the letter from the Council, I find that the reduction to parishioners is 2s. off each sitting rated above 5s.; and 1s. off each sitting rated at 5s., 4s., or 3s.

If there was a good church, would it make the congregation more parochial?—I do not know that it would. I think the idea of making congregations strictly parochial in a city like this, is almost visionary and impracticable, and in some respects not desirable. I do not think that the labours of a minister should be confined to one class of persons. It is desirable that in the house of prayer the rich and poor should meet together; and I think it of great importance that the labours of the minister should be distributed both among the rich and the poor, as he may in this way have an opportunity of directing towards the poor the sympathies of the rich. Much more good may be done in this way, if the rich are disposed to befriend the poor; and they would be disposed to befriend them, especially when they knew they were honest and strict in the observances of religion and the other duties of life.

What excuse do the people generally make?—Want of proper clothing is the chief excuse. I established the preaching station entirely on account of finding that a considerable proportion of the people always professed to be unable to attend any place of worship, in consequence of the meanness of their appearance. They do not like to be exposed to the gaze of those who are more gaily apparelled; and the truth is, that

they really are so very ill clothed, that there is more respect to be shewn to that excuse than often is ; and to take away the pretence of absenting themselves from want of proper clothing, as well as to furnish a place to which they might feel themselves quite welcome to come, I opened this preaching station, noticed in reply to query 35, where they can go without appearing even in the High Street. It has only been opened about two months, namely, since the last week of December last.

It will be better filled perhaps when more generally known ?—I suppose it will be so ; some are very thankful to go, and some say they will go when they have better clothing. They still make the scruple of going even there on that account.

What is the mission alluded to in the last part of the answer to that query ?—It is a branch of what is called the City Mission. It is impossible for me to conceive that any person could be more diligent than the person acting in that capacity ; and he is spoken of by all denominations, even by Roman Catholics, with gratitude for his attention.

In reference to query 39, it is desirable to get the names of all religious denominations, and the ministers officiating therein ?—I have the names of most of them ; but I thought it desirable that the numbers attending such places of worship should be correctly obtained. People did not always state who their ministers were. To give in a very accurate list, it will be necessary to go over the ground again.

Perhaps you can furnish us with a list some other time ?—Yes ; that is what I propose to do. I have the materials here ; I could mention almost all of them, but I do not think that I could at present give an accurate list. The Roman Catholic is by far the most numerous sect ; and I was in general told by Roman Catholics that they went sometimes to one place of worship, and sometimes to another. There is one in Broughton Street, and another in Lothian Street ; some go to the one, and others to the other ; but most of them seem to go to the more distant of the two. They are almost all Irish. I do not know whether these people understood what was meant by a sitting when asked. They used to say at first that they had sittings ; but on being further asked, a number said they did not pay for sittings, but commonly paid a penny when they went into church ; and when they could not pay, there was a part of the church set apart for their reception. I can scarcely say that I expect to give a list with perfect accuracy. I think the Roman Catholic, the United Secession, and the Relief, are the most numerous attended from the parish ; of the Methodists there is a smaller proportion, and of the Independents a good many.

In reference to query 33, how many of your parishioners, capable of attending public worship, &c. belong to the Established Church ?—I think 201 ; but I have taken so great a variety of notes, that it is not very easy to methodise them.

Do you find that the families frequently change their residence, and go beyond the parish ?—Very often. There were houses I went to occasionally during the first three months of my incumbency, and very

soon afterwards I found some of them altogether unoccupied, and others occupied by different persons. Many of them are changing not only every month, but every week ; almost all of them are weekly tenants. I have endeavoured to ascertain from the landlords what is their condition and character, particularly their migratory habits, and I have obtained a good deal of information for purposes of my own.

Would the extension of the missionary system alone supply the deficiency in the Old parish ?—I do not think so. I do not attach so great importance to that ministration as some do, but at the same time I own it may be useful as an auxiliary to the preaching of the Gospel, which I regard as the chief and most active means of leading to the knowledge of Divine truth, and the practice of Christian duties. The benefit of the system of missions must depend very much on the manner in which it is conducted. Much is done very injudiciously. I have found some attempts prove quite abortive from the unqualified state of the missionary, and, on the other hand, I have found missionaries who I thought did much good.

Do they preach not in accordance with the standards of the Church, or what is the objection ?—I do not refer to anything very recent. I refer to persons who have had very vague notions of religion themselves, and who, some of them, seemed to be more inclined to make proselytes to a particular sect than to inculcate Christian doctrines ; and there have been other disqualifying circumstances to which I would not like to refer more particularly, as if I were pointing at individuals at present employed, or facts of a recent occurrence. I have known a case of a great number of people, most of whom I understood to be in communion with the Church of Scotland, giving handsome subscriptions for the support of a mission, and trusting to one individual, not of the same communion with the majority of the subscribers, to provide a missionary, and this individual bringing one from a great distance, who was represented as being highly qualified ; and yet he proved not only unfit in point of capacity and attainments, but in point of moral character, to be altogether unworthy.

Your objection applies more to the mode in which the missions are conducted than to the system ?—I do not know that I can say I am clear about the system being likely to be so very sufficient as appears to be generally expected.

You say preaching is the most effectual way. How would you deal with those who do not come to hear ?—The missionary, or visiting system, ought then to be resorted to.

Would the work of visiting be more efficiently done, if done by ministers of the parish ?—Yes ; but it is not practicable to carry it in this way to great extent.

In order to the minister of the parish carrying on that system of visitation to any extent, is it not desirable that he should have a district assigned him ?—There is not only great convenience in that, but it is in some measure indispensable, with a view to bring in those who are al-

ready not at all impressed with the importance of religious knowledge ; but I do not see that it is essential that his labour should be confined altogether to one district, although it is desirable that his attention should be devoted chiefly to it.

But is it not necessary that the ministers should work by districts, so as not to interfere with each other ?—It is desirable that it should be so. The time was, when every congregation in Edinburgh was strictly parochial ; so much so, that persons removing from my parish, for instance, to the Tron Church parish, which is contiguous, would find they were not allowed to go to my church, but to the other ; but it is found to be impracticable now to form the same sort of congregations as formerly from every parish, as the population in the Old Town has become almost of one description in point of circumstances.

When you say the visitation of a district is almost impracticable by one minister, does the circumstance of his having duties extra-parochial interfere with the discharge of his parochial duties ?—No doubt, to a certain extent ; but in saying that it is almost impracticable for a minister to accomplish it satisfactorily, I refer more especially to a portion of a minister's time being set apart to study and to other labours, such as the progress of education, not only in the parish, but out of it. The ministers of Edinburgh have the charge of a great many institutions that occupy much of their time, and it is not practicable for them satisfactorily to overtake all the labour. I think that almost a single close or lane would occupy any man's attention in some parts of my parish, and one could not do them justice. A great part of these people are never to be found in their houses at a time when they could be conveniently visited, as they go out early to labour, and are not at home till late at night. Many of them are employed occasionally in the country ; a great many of them are hawkers, and are almost constantly away ; and the constant fluctuation in the parish is another difficulty, which is perhaps greater than any other. It is most desirable, no doubt, that every minister should have a district, but the character of the population is one of the greatest of all the difficulties. I look on 2000 people in such a part of the Old Town as I am connected with, as requiring more labour and attention than 7000 or 8000 in the New Town. There are circumstances which the people wish to bring constantly under the view of their minister, altogether apart from their spiritual interests.

Would the minister have more in his power, if he were able to say to those whom he visits, "Come to your own church ?"—One would think so ; but a minister feels great delicacy in inviting people to his own church, when so many others are equally accessible, which they might prefer. For some time past, there has been so great a prejudice against attempting to make proselytes, that when you come into contact with any other denomination, you would be apt to awaken their prejudices by hinting at anything of the kind.

But have not ministers met with the answer from the people, that they have no sittings ?—That is not at present the true cause. It is certain

that a great many of them might find sittings, even without paying for them ; and sittings are to be had in various churches at a low rate, but they are not certainly adequate to the supply of any parish.

Are those generally employed as missionaries well qualified ?—I could not bear any testimony in regard to those with whom I am not acquainted. I know a few well qualified, but in regard to the others I can give no opinion.

Is the preaching station a convenient and comfortable place ?—It is fitted up like a church, and quite open to every one, and is exceedingly comfortable, and several people come to it, who, though very welcome, are not those for whose peculiar use it was intended, but persons who come beyond the bounds of the parish, and have been in the habit of going elsewhere. In my apprehension, the most promising way of enticing people to attend church would be to establish a better system of education than that which prevails now. There is not a sufficient number of schools in the city well taught for the poorer part of the people.

Is there a school in your parish ?—There are more schools than one, but not a parish school. There was a school attempted to be established on that plan, but circumstances occurred in consequence of which it was dropt. I have so far endeavoured to keep it up, that I pay for the rent of the same place ; and there is a master who endeavours to carry it on at his own adventure, but he makes very little by it, because there are numbers in the neighbourhood who receive education gratuitously. There are two Roman Catholic schools in the parish, which are occasionally attended by Protestant children. And great as is the prejudice of many against the use of our Catechism in schools attended by others than of our own communion, I find that there are Protestants not the least scrupulous in letting their children attend a Roman Catholic school, where the Roman Catholic Catechism, I am told, is always taught. But I cannot answer for them all. There were some people of this persuasion who would answer no questions at all, and acted in a way that I would not like to characterise.

Is the Church Catechism generally taught in the schools of the parish ?—I am afraid it is not very much taught in many of the schools.

It is not necessarily a school-book ?—No ; but in parochial schools I believe it is generally taught ; but there are scarcely any schools here that possess that character.

In a parish too large to be visited by the minister, would you recommend its division ?—Certainly.

Where he cannot accomplish the visitation of his whole people, would you recommend it to be divided ?—Yes.

You would prefer that to the missionary system ?—I rather think so ; but at the same time I may say, it is an experiment which has not yet been tried, and I would not be dogmatical in pronouncing an opinion on a matter of which I have had little experience.

If a minister were relieved of his extra-parochial work, he would accomplish more ?—That is obvious ; but I do not think it is desirable to

should be so. When a minister has a parish church such as mine, it is desirable that his labours should be extended to persons in different stations in life, because he has an opportunity of adapting his instructions to all varieties and conditions of character, and also to extend the means of inducing those who are able to contribute to the relief and instruction of others, and provide means for their benefit, which he never could find, if his attention were exclusively devoted to the poor. To give a specimen of this: In one of the subordinate points of my duty, it occasionally happens, when conversing with persons of my own congregation in the better circumstances of life, that I have occasion to speak of the deplorable state of many of the poor who fall under my notice; and I scarcely ever do it without having an offer of an immediate grant of the means of doing them good, which I could not expect to find, if my charge were confined to those who labour under such deplorable circumstances.

In speaking of the improved system of education, would you rely on it alone, in addition to the existing means, as sufficient to reclaim to religious habits?—I scarcely would, in the present circumstances; but I think, if it had not been that the system of education has been long inadequate, neither systematically conducted, nor extensive enough to supply the wants of the whole community, I rather think that the people would not have fallen into that state of ignorance and indifference, which is so prevalent. If a good system were revived and kept up, it would contribute more than anything else to the formation of the habits of attending the church, and the observance of religious duties.

But would not the active and unfettered ministrations of a parish minister be of importance?—No doubt of that. The truth is, that a very great deal of labour must be undergone by every minister, the good effects of which he can scarcely perceive at all.

Is there any additional observation you would wish to make yourself?—No, except I state that I rather think the progress of ignorance and depravity of late years has arisen very much from some defect in the law with regard to the use of spirituous liquors. I ascribe much of the present state of the poor to the great facility which they now possess of obtaining the means of intoxication. Looking over a survey of a destitute district of the Canongate, taking fifteen years ago, I find the state of the families then was very different from what I know it to be now. I was minister there for three years, from 1822 to 1825. I observed a marked change on the people from the moment of the reduction of the duty on spirits, I think, in 1823. Some seem to think of nothing else than to have the means of intoxication supplied to them. I observed fathers and mothers of families neglecting their families to a much greater degree than I had remarked before. One great evil arose from the recent relaxation in regard to public-houses on the Sabbath-day. There is not the same restraint now that there was formerly; now the restraint is only during Divine service, and even during that time the restraint is one that amounts almost to nothing. The survey I talk of was taken by my predecessor, Dr Stewart; and I have had occasion to take notice of the same



individuals whom he refers to, as in a promising condition in respect to religious habits, and I found in them a great change, and all in consequence of habits of drinking, which increased much at the time I speak of.

(Signed) JOHN LEE.

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DECLARATION of the Rev. Dr LEE continued—18th March 1836.

When I formerly had the honour of appearing before the Commissioners, I was asked a number of questions, which being unexpected were imperfectly answered. I have no desire now to volunteer any opinions, but merely to supply some defects, and answer questions as to facts, leaving to others to draw such inferences as may appear legitimately to follow from them.

One subject is the population of the parish, which I understand has been brought under the notice of the Commissioners this day. I gave in an account of more than 1,700; but I have been told another enumeration has been given in, making it appear that the number is about 1400. I know that the numbers given in by me did not comprehend any more than the people themselves stated; and when I went round a second time, I found upon the whole that the number had been understated, as people had often omitted to mention their lodgers. Besides, many persons were absent, sometimes four or five families in one common stair, when the survey was taken, and not afterwards added to my list. I do not understand how there should be such a discrepancy, especially when the surveys were almost simultaneously made. I understood that others had gone through only two or three days before me, who did not belong to the Establishment, because they had in various instances recommended the people to go to particular Dissenting churches, as I was informed. I will undertake to prove, that the numbers given in by me are very considerably under the truth.

Another subject on which I wish to offer some additional explanation, is the frequent change of residence among the poorer classes. I stated formerly that I had found, in my experience since I became minister of the Old Church parish, that poor families removed very often, not only from one part of the parish to another, but beyond the bounds of the parish altogether. I understand that a different statement has been made by others, in regard to the general tendency of the poor to be more stationary than others. Though my former remarks applied chiefly to my own parish, which I represented as being in more unmingled poverty than any other I had ever seen, and though I considered the fluctuation greater in the Old Church parish, I must say that the experience of fourteen years in this city and suburbs has fully prepared me for what I have more particularly remarked. Having always had much intercourse with the poor, I have long been in the habit of inquiring where they had lived from time to time; and amongst people in such circumstances I was never surprised to hear that, if they had been ten years in the town, they had lived in six or seven different parishes. As they sink into deeper poverty, I

generally find that the changes become more and more frequent. But I possess more full and exact information now than I did lately, both in regard to my own parish and to others. I have sought for this information from a number of proprietors of houses in the poorer districts, and from their factors, who collect their rents periodically, sometimes weekly, or at other short intervals. I have sought it also from gentlemen in this city who have acted as constables, and who in that capacity have taken the names of the people from time to time ; but I have obtained it from the surveyor of the police chiefly, who also surveys for the Commissioners of Improvements, and who annually makes up a list of all the tenants, with their several rents, through the whole of the city and suburbs. He does not, of course, take the names of the lodgers, who generally change more frequently than the people who rent the apartments from the landlord. Mr Paterson, the surveyor, in repeated conversations with me, has stated his impression to be, that in a great part of the Old Town about two-thirds of the poor tenants, for some years past, have been changed between one year and another ; but he can account only for annual tenants, that is, he found certain tenants about this season, in 1834 ; and when he made the survey in 1835, he found two out of every three houses, or rather apartments in the district, occupied differently to what they were in the year before ; but he could not account for intermediate changes between one survey and another. The survey of houses below L.5 rent is not yet completed for this year ; but I perceive that, in so far as it has gone, the changes are in various instances fully in the proportion, or nearly in the proportion, which the surveyor has stated. As, for instance, in Chalmers's Close, College Church parish, of forty-five families paying each less than L.4 of rent, at least twenty-five seem to have changed since this time last year. In my parish, as far as I can understand the surveyor's note-book, which I have here, out of about 400 families whose highest rental is L.3, and the average much below L.2 a-year, 260 who were there in spring 1834 had removed before the same period in 1835, and this does not include the intermediate changes. As a specimen of the changes, I may state that the first part of my parish surveyed by me this year was Blair Street, which in its appearance is much more respectable than other parts of this parish, and includes a few families in comfortable circumstances, but a much greater number very poor. The number of families in 1834 appears from the surveyor's books to be twenty-eight ; of these only five now remain ; and in the other twenty-three houses there have been at least thirty-five removals, more than one-half of them having twice, or oftener, changed their tenants. The five families who remain are all people who are regular in attending public worship, four belonging to the Established Church and one to the Relief. Two of them inhabit houses, their own property ; so of those who are mere tenants, all have changed except three in the space of two years. But the changes in the course of the year are so frequent, that a survey made this year will exhibit a different result from one made three or four months ago. To illustrate what I mean, I beg to state that I was last week in a house in Borthwick's

Close, and I found from a man who inhabits an apartment, his own property, that since the survey was made there, little more than a month ago, three of the seven families residing in the same land, and catering by the same stair, had removed to other parishes. In the part of the Cowgate adjoining my parish I observe there were thirty-two changes in fifty-two houses in one year; or if second changes be counted, forty-one changes in that number of houses. This includes shopkeepers, as well as mere residents.

There are peculiarities in some parishes, which account for more stationary habits than prevail elsewhere. The neighbourhood of a brewery or a distillery, or other great work, often induces those employed there to live near it. In the New North Church parish, there have been several condemned houses, which people inhabit without paying rent, and they are in no haste to leave them to go to other places, where they would have to pay. In some parts of that parish, the surveyor's books shew great fluctuation. The people in the Water of Leith are very generally engaged in the feeding of swine, and no other place suits them so well, so that even the lowest of them are stationary. According to my information, people of very good habits are not so migratory as the improvident and irregular. At the same time it must be owned, that in particular seasons, when work is not to be found, well-disposed persons are obliged to try the effect of a change of residence. The amount of difficulty which these frequent removals occasion to a minister anxious to maintain intercourse with his people, cannot be calculated; but it is manifest, that if even one-half of the inhabitants of the parish are removed from it in the course of the year, and still more, if there be quarterly or monthly changes, there may be many who will escape the notice of the most vigilant pastor; and if such changes take place to the extent of two-thirds, he can know little more than one-third of the population of his parish. It is easy to represent this great\* matter in an aspect almost ludicrous, and to say there can be no difficulty in superintending the inhabitants of a space not 250 yards in length, and 150 yards in breadth, when compared to the extent of rural parishes. But let it be considered, first, how great are the dimensions of the houses, † and how narrow are the spaces in which the people are accommodated,—some of them even less than 10 feet by 8, and sometimes little more than this for two families. I can point out a single common stair, which leads to the residence of nearly fifty families, whose numbers exceed the population of some country parishes well known to me. It does not become more comfortable nor advantageous to visit them in the time either of temporal or spiritual trouble, when one feels that every word that is spoken may be heard through the thin partitions dividing one family from another. But, farther, in country parishes, people in general are industrious, and capable of maintaining themselves and educating their

\* *grave* in MS.

† *in another direction, some mounting up six or seven stories (eleven years ago there were some double that height).* These words in the MS. appear to have been inadvertently left out.

families. Few who are idle or unprofitable members of the community can be harboured there. It is otherwise with our city parishes. We may find a few of surpassing worth, but they are greatly outnumbered by those who care not for their own souls or the souls of their offspring. I know by experience the difference in this respect between a rural parish and a parish in a large city. In the earlier part of my life, I had the charge of a much more numerous parish than I have now, which was partly in the country, and likewise included a royal burgh containing more than 2000 inhabitants, the whole parish amounting to nearly 3000. I am not aware that I was charged with being inattentive, and I did not think the labour light; but the difficulties and discouragements were few indeed, compared with those with which I must now struggle, although the population is very considerably less. Besides, the manner in which the individuals of this fluctuating mass are crowded together, sometimes two families night and day in one apartment, leads too frequently to a disregard of all the decencies of life, and sometimes to a kind of intercourse which cannot be thought of without horror. Two cases were recently mentioned to me, one by a house-factor, and another by a manager of the Charity Workhouse, in both of which females had born children to their nearest blood relations. These cases did not occur in my parish, but in the vicinity of it; but even in my own parish, I cannot but be shocked when I see, as I frequently do, the same apartment occupied by two married couples, neither having a bed, nor any place to which they could retire beyond the bare walls. The Old Town parishes are some of them less populous, it may be said, than they were formerly, when little difficulty was found in giving due attention to them; but at that time the population was much more stationary, and comprehended people of almost all conditions in life. The proportion of the indigent and careless was very small. People of character and condition could not overlook their humbler neighbours, and found it no great sacrifice of time or substance to relieve their occasional wants, and find employment for the diligent, and counsel and encourage the distressed.

This leads to another point,—the gradation of ranks in these parishes; a point concerning which a misapprehension prevails in some quarters. In my parish there are several high-rented shops, but the people whose business is carried on there do not reside in the parish, and are not to be counted parishioners in any ecclesiastical sense; and, of the mere residents who carry on business in the same houses in which they dwell, I do not think there is one who pays so much as a rent of L. 20, and very few so much as half that sum. In various cases the landlords are as poor as their tenants. Only last night I found myself warranted to subscribe a certificate of inability to pay a few shillings of tax to a person who is proprietor of one or two houses. I know a man who has thirty tenants in the Cowgate, and I am sure that, poor as the tenants are, he is in as great difficulty as any of them. There is a gradation, but it is almost exclusively from the condition of an ordinary tradesman down to the lowest abysses of poverty. Day after day I see the most affecting instances of the

extremes of destitution. On one day I had been in seven houses in which there was no bed, and in some of them not even straw in place of it. I found old people of about 80 years of age lying on the boards without even any soft substance between them and the timber, except their common wearing clothes. Many sleep in the same clothes which they wear during the day. I may mention the case of two families living in a kind of miserable cellar. These people are Scotch, and I find many of the poorest are Scotch. They had both come into the parish since the beginning of winter, one from the neighbourhood of Lanark, and the other from Ayrshire, in search of work,—two husbands and two wives, and when I saw them last each family had two children. Since they came here they had two dead, and another apparently dying. The place they inhabit is a cellar, where at noon-day it is impossible to distinguish the features of the human face without artificial light. There was a little bundle of dirty straw in one corner for one family, and a smaller bundle in another corner for the other. An ass stands in one corner, which is as well accommodated as those human creatures. Their wretchedness may be better judged of when I state that the rent demanded from the two families is threepence per week, and even that they cannot pay. The men subsist by going to the country and pulling heath for the purpose of making brooms ; and it is a very poor subsistence which they can gain in that way, especially in such an inclement season of the year. It would almost make a heart of adamant bleed to see such an accumulation of human misery in a country like this. I have to state, that when so great a proportion of the people are in circumstances like this, and when they have no neighbours in most cases who can give them counsel or relief, the profession of a minister who has the charge is peculiarly difficult and discouraging. There are many wants which they expect to find the means of supplying through the medium of the minister, and a greater number than 2000 becomes altogether unmanageable.

There are a few other points on which I am by no means satisfied with the extent of the information which was conveyed by the answers to some of the questions proposed to me ; but I do not know that it can be a great object to the Commission to hear the views which I entertain in regard to some of these matters. I beg only to say, that, in speaking of the want of schools, I had always conceived that such schools as had been long established in this country, in which children from an early period of life are accustomed to read the Scriptures, and are taught the principles of Christianity in so comprehensive a book as the Catechism of our Church, are peculiarly instrumental in preparing the minds of the people for receiving benefit from the preaching of the Gospel, and the other ministrations of the pastors. Indeed those who have not become accustomed to the language of Scripture are in the condition of persons who are quite destitute of the language in which religious ideas must be conveyed. One might as well speak to them in an unknown tongue, in many cases, as speak in the language of Scripture, unless a much greater proportion of time is assigned to the task of the mere interpretation of

terms than can be at all necessary for those who have passed through such a course of discipline.

Another subject concerning which I was asked some questions was the system of missions. I stated that I had a favourable opinion of the qualifications and diligence of some missionaries who were known to me ; but at the same time I did hesitate certainly to state that I was fully satisfied with regard to the general utility of the system ; at least I hesitated in expressing my belief that it was as efficient a mode as many seem to think, particularly when conducted by persons who have not passed through the same course of education which is necessary to qualify a man for public ministrations in the church. My belief is, that it leads very frequently to the practice of lay-preaching ; and however well qualified some of the individuals may be, and probably are, for communicating instruction in that mode, I am far from being prepared to say that I think it would be safe to encourage the prevalence of such a practice generally. I think these are the only points which I wished to state.

(Suggested.) Had the parties whom our surveyors recommended to go to a Dissenting place of worship seats in any place of worship?—Perhaps not ; I cannot say at this moment. I mentioned the thing as indicating that those who passed through the parish did not belong to the Establishment. It was a particular chapel they had been recommended to go to.

Was it a chapel in which there were free sittings?—I understood it to be so.

Do you know whether the removals were not in the same stair from one room or flat to another?—I do not say that may not happen ; but none of those cases to which I referred are of that description ; for they were not only from the house or land, but beyond the bounds of the parish. I could give the names of a great many whom I had known to be in the parish within the last two or three months, and who are not in it now.

(Suggested.) In regard to the removals from the authority of the surveyor of police, do you mean that in all those cases of removal the house was occupied subsequently by another party?—In many cases it was, and in some not. I have made out a table relating to my own parish, and in which I have distinguished the removals and the new tenants ; and I find that the number of new tenants falls short of the number of removals.

Are you aware that in some parts of the Old Town removals are occasioned by houses falling into decay?—I am not aware that any of the removals to which I refer have been so occasioned ; and, in regard to those in my own parish, they have not proceeded from any such cause. There is no ruinous house in Blair Street to which I have referred.

Are you aware, in regard to Chalmers's Close, that removals have been occasioned by a large land being condemned and remaining?—I do not profess to know such cases as this, but in regard to my own parish I can speak.

Were not the removals in the New North Church parish affected by

the improvements?—Those to which I refer were not in that part of the parish, but in the small portion of Forrester's Wynd that still remains, in which there are some houses for which no rent has been taken for several years.

(Suggested.) You are aware that the houses are in extreme decay in Forrester's Wynd?—I know that there are a number of houses for which people pay no rent. I was merely accounting for the difference that takes place in different parishes arising from different circumstances. I do not speak without book when I say, that in the parish with which I am best acquainted the fluctuation is exceedingly great; and I introduced the circumstance originally for the sake of pointing out one of the peculiar difficulties under which we labour in attending to a population of such a character. I should wish to add one word to the answer relating to Chalmers's Close. I find that by the surveyor's marking for this year (in green ink) that there are 25 new tenants in all, which is the amount I stated to have changed. The tenants for this year are marked in green, and I find that there are 25 marked as new tenants for this year, which includes all the changes there to which I formerly referred; but in some other cases I have made the distinction that a greater number of persons have removed than have been succeeded by new tenants.

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#### DECLARATION of the Rev. Dr LEE continued—19th March.

I WAS asked a few questions towards the conclusion of my evidence yesterday, the object of which appeared to be, to bring out a result somewhat different from what I expressed with regard to the frequent change of residence among the poor, and the cause of these changes. I found, on looking through the statements relating to my own parish, with which I am familiarly acquainted, that a very small proportion of the changes can be accounted for by the houses becoming ruinous. In Blair Street only 5 tenants remain out of 29, and two of these are proprietors of the houses they live in. The first house in the High Street, a modern building, contains nine dwelling-houses, and only one of these is occupied as it was in 1834, by a person who has been there at least 10 years. There were six new tenants out of the nine last year. In the next close there are 96 houses; 23 families only continue as in 1834. Some of these inhabit houses which are their own property, and some of the houses are the property of the Commercial Bank, and are inhabited by their porters, and other respectable individuals; and when these are taken off there are not more than about 15 of the poor families who are the same as they were two years ago. There were in that close 35 new tenants last year. About 18 of the houses were not occupied at the time of the survey, though a number of them have since been occupied. Bell's Wynd is the next of the wynds or closes in order. A considerable number of the houses are inhabited by the same persons who have inhabited them for some time past, the heirs to the property not being known, and

20 families have resided in the property for some time, rent not being claimed from them; and, of course, those poor people are not apt to change. But exclusive of these, there are 72 dwelling-houses, of which 18 are inhabited as in 1834, and 19 new tenants this year. And, on the whole, the houses in the High Street, the best in my parish, change their tenants more frequently than the worst tenants in the closes: for instance, No. 150 High Street contains 6 dwelling-houses, all the tenants of which have been changed, except one, in two years, and two of them have changed at least twice. What is called the Covenant Close, 160 High Street, contained 42 tenants in 1834; and of the 42 only 12 tenants now remain, some of whom are proprietors of the houses. The new tenants in 1835 were 18, and several of the houses at the time of the survey were unoccupied. No. 166 High Street contains 6 houses looking towards the great street; all of the tenants changed in two years, and most of them twice. In the Old Assembly Close there are 60 dwelling-houses, and not ruinous; 12 of these are occupied as in 1834, that is only one-fifth. There were 22 new tenants in 1835, at the time of the survey; several houses then unoccupied have since been occupied oftener than once. If I were to advance to the still more wretched parts of the parish, the changes would appear to be much more frequent; and I am rather desirous of giving in a statement on the subject in writing.

How have you ascertained these changes at the two different periods?—From the survey of the surveyor for the City Improvements, and he can have no object in giving an incorrect report.

His books are made up for other purposes?—Yes, for ascertaining the amount of taxes to be paid.

He did not take the survey for the purpose of ascertaining the changes?—No; this fact came out incidentally. The survey which he recently made has been compared with his last survey; and this survey shows the matter in a still stronger light, because it shows that a great many changes have taken place since his survey was made.

In stating these facts, I beg to say, that, for my own part, I have no favourite theory to support, and have engaged less than most others of my profession in the agitation on some of the questions which have so lately been keenly discussed; not because I think these questions unimportant, or because I regard them with indifference, but because, not being able altogether to agree with those whose general views I am disposed to prefer, I have been unwilling to come into public collision with such as have a most laudable object in view, while, at the same time, they may have adopted views different from mine in regard to the best method of obtaining that object.

I beg to state, in regard to the poor of my present parish, and other parishes in the Old Town, that I find a very great number of those who are most wretched and most careless in regard to their spiritual condition have been servants in gentlemen's houses, many of them in the New Town of Edinburgh; and I ascribe a great deal of the indifference in regard to church attendance, to the habits which many of them have formed whilst



in such service. For a long period, it was the general practice of families, in a better condition of life, to take their servants and dependents to church with them; but, indeed, the very imperfect accommodation for the parishioners of the New Town for a long period, put it out of the power of those persons of a higher rank, who were best disposed, to find accommodation for their servants; the consequence of which was, that servants coming from the country, although attached to the Established Church, found it necessary, if they were anxious to attend on the public instruction of any minister, either to be accommodated in churches at a distance, or in the chapels of the various sects, which are numerous. But the evil has not sprung from the attendance at these places of public worship, but chiefly from the liberty given to servants, who, instead of going to church, spend the Sabbath in idleness, and who have been led to dissipated habits by having unrestrained freedom on that day. I may likewise state, that not a few families—I believe, however, the practice has much changed for the better—were some years ago not very scrupulous about holding parties on the Sabbath-day, which occupied their servants so much, that it was impossible for them to attend divine worship; and after falling out of the habit, it is not very easily recovered, and this has led them into other habits, destructive of their temporal and spiritual comfort.

I may state, also, that families, finding it desirable to attend churches at a distance from their own habitations, may have prevented some of their servants from giving attendance at any church at all; and not only their domestic servants, but others: I refer to coachmen being so frequently employed, Sunday after Sunday, without almost any attention being paid to the importance of allowing those persons the opportunity of attending the public worship of God.

I may state farther, in regard to many of the poor, and those the most helpless, that they are not natives of this city. A large proportion of them come from manufacturing towns, where, after having failed to find employment, they are apt to wander, to procure subsistence elsewhere. A great number of them land here, and live in a sort of half-beggary for a few years, till they may be found entitled to receive some allowance from the Charity Workhouse, which they do very often receive without being entitled to it, inasmuch as it would be found that their residence here has not been an industrious residence; for many of them have been employed in a manner injurious to the interest and morality of the place. I refer to a great number of those employed in hawking goods.

I may state farther, in regard to the difficulties attending the operations of a minister in such parishes as this, that the habits of the people are such that a minister cannot very often find them at home. I sometimes go into those common stairs, and find three or four absent; on a fine day like this, I would find scarcely one at home; and the only time when they are to be found is in the evening, and it is very often in the evening that the missionaries contrive to see them. I hope I may be

permitted to add, that, although I have spoken of congregations strictly parochial, as being an object that we cannot expect to attain in the present circumstances of society; yet during my late investigations, which have been carried on more actively than formerly, my conviction has been strengthened of the very great importance of a close and vigilant inspection of the people by the ministers and the elders. I must confess, that though I have always had much intercourse with the poor, I have not seen hitherto, in so strong a light, the extreme importance of particular visitations. I had sometimes formerly found reason to think, as I apprehended at the time, that many of the hours which were occasionally employed in that way might have been occupied in more promising fields of usefulness; I thought so, because I could so rarely find any beneficial impression produced by the visits I did make, and which I again say were less frequent than they should have been; but, at the same time, I am fully convinced, that while it is of importance that these local attentions should be paid, I cannot cease to think that the Old Town should still be superintended in such a way, as that the inhabitants of the New Town, in whose service many of the people have become poor, should feel that they are under a peculiar obligation to attend to their advantage, both temporal and spiritual.

The statement to which I have alluded I shall, with the permission of the Commissioners, send to their secretary. I have a great many particulars noted in regard to the parishes from which the people have passed, showing that the removals are not merely from one part of the parish to another.—Reported by

(Signed) SIMON MACGREGOR.

*Continuation of the List of Changes in the Residence of Tenants in the Old Church Parish above alluded to.*

**Borthwick's Close.**—Of 34 dwelling-houses, eight appear from the police surveyor's books to have been inhabited in 1835 as they were in 1834; two of these tenants are also proprietors; so that only six who were mere tenants remained.

**Old Fishmarket Close.**—Of 87 dwelling-houses, 21 inhabited, as in 1834.

**Burnet's Close.**—Of 52 dwelling-houses, 11 occupied as in 1834; 26 new tenants at the time of the survey; a considerable number had removed whose places were not then supplied.

**Conn's Close.**—Of 38 dwelling-houses, nine occupied as in 1834; 19 new tenants at the time of the survey.

In one of the stairs at the bottom of the Fishmarket Close, only nine families were reported by me, no others having been found at home, and several houses being empty. The surveyor's books account for 24 families in that stair, one-half of which are understood to be in the parish of Old

Greyfriars; 16 of these have removed since the survey of 1835 was made, but the neighbours cannot account for the number of intermediate changes, as some families remained only a week.

Edinburgh, 26th March 1836.

(Signed) JOHN LEE.

Many of the poor people, who have only recently come to Edinburgh, attempt to represent themselves as having been resident in the parish for years. I remember a case of a man and his wife, the former of whom stated to me last year that they had been parishioners four years. Their landlady, on being closely questioned, supported their statement; but on farther inquiry I ascertained that these people had come from Glasgow only a month before I saw them, and never had been in Edinburgh before, otherwise than passing through it, and indeed the wife admitted that she had never been more than three weeks in the town.

(Signed) JOHN LEE.

D.





